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# STATEMENTS OF ROBERT F. WILLIAMS



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## HEARINGS

(With subsequent staff interviews)

BEFORE THE

### SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

### COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

#### PART 2

MARCH 24, 1970

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### SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

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J. G. SOURWINE, *Chief Counsel*

JOHN R. NORPEL, *Director of Research*

ALFONSO L. TARABOCHIA, *Chief Investigator*

## RESOLUTION

*Resolved*, by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, that the attached Resolution relating to the citation of Robert F. Williams for contempt of the Senate be reported favorably to the Committee on the Judiciary; together with the attached draft report thereon.

Approved October 2, 1971.

(NOTE.—The resolution and draft report referred to above are printed separately. On page 3, the draft report states: "The Report of Proceedings, or Transcript, covering Williams' appearance before the subcommittee on February 16, 1970, and March 24 and 25, 1970, separately printed, is transmitted herewith and is expressly made a part hereof by reference.")

(II)

## TESTIMONY OF ROBERT F. WILLIAMS

TUESDAY, MARCH 24, 1970

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:55 a.m., in room 1114, New Senate Office Building, Senator Birch Bayh presiding.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; John R. Norpel, Jr., research director; and Alfonso L. Tarabochia, chief investigator.

Senator BAYH. I will declare the committee convened.

At the outset let me suggest for the record that the Senate is meeting in an unusually early 10 o'clock session, because the present order of business being the Carswell nomination, and because of the uncertainty of the present status of the conference report on the primary and secondary education bill.

As one of the members of the Judiciary Committee directly involved in the Carswell debate, I feel that I must be on the floor. I apologize for my absence. And we appreciate your coming.

And Mr. Craig, we appreciate your being here.

Mr. Sourwine, will you proceed with the discussion here? We will have it for the record. And I will have a chance to go back over it as well as the other members of the committee.

If for some reason or other it is necessary for me to return I can find someone to spell me when I get over there.

(At this point Senator Bayh left the room, and the hearing reverted to a staff interview.)

### STATEMENT OF ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, ACCOMPANIED BY ROGER CRAIG, COUNSEL, IN STAFF CONFERENCE INTERVIEW

Mr. SOURWINE. Before we get back on the track, Mr. Williams, I should like to ask a few questions about your recent whereabouts. As you know, the committee has made arrangements for you to fly here, leaving Detroit yesterday. And we know that ticket was canceled. And we had a report that you had entered the United States on the 15th, by automobile from Canada at Champlain, N.Y.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any trouble in connection with this entry?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the only trouble I had was when I got to the border. As I was coming from Detroit I decided to come through Canada, I felt it would be better for me to travel in Canada by car rather than the United States. But I was actually going to New York,



not here, because I was supposed to have seen the lawyers for both sides of the case in New York for TWA. I am bringing a lawsuit against Trans World Airlines, and I had permission from the judge in Detroit to go there.

However, I came through Canada. And I was traveling with my wife in her car.

And also she had a rifle, which was a brand-new rifle and had never been fired, and it was still sealed up in the box.

Mr. SOURWINE. What kind of a gun was it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was an M-1, but it was an M-1 carbine. And they called it a sport type of rifle, it has been converted. And it was on sale at Sears, Roebuck & Co.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that where she bought it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. In the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. It was either bought at the K-Mart or Sears, I do not know which one, either one or the other. But it was registered.

Mr. SOURWINE. In Detroit?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. It was legally purchased. But she did not buy it. I think actually either my brother or my son bought it, I do not know which one. But the number is registered either at Sears, Roebuck—

Mr. SOURWINE. In her name?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, it is not registered in her name. Maybe in my son's name. He was probably the one who bought it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Which boy was that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. My oldest boy. His name is Robert, Jr. Either he bought it—it might have been even my brother.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any ammunition for it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. We had ammunition, but we had it some place in the car. And we never found the ammunition.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never found the ammunition?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

The rifle was sealed, it did not even have a magazine or anything, it had never fired. It was brand new. But the idea was, she had asked me to teach her to shoot. And so I assumed that when we got to Maryland, if we could find a place, a rifle range, I would teach her.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were going to Maryland?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Just passing through.

Mr. SOURWINE. On the way here?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. Because later we had decided to go back through Philadelphia, because we came down through Canada. But also in going by the Thruway we go through Philadelphia and come down to the edge of Maryland.

Mr. SOURWINE. Just so the record will speak clearly, I think it is a little confused now, in that you said you could not find the ammunition. Presumably you or your wife put the ammunition in the car if it was there.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. She put it in the car, probably.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say you could not find it. You mean you were looking for it and could not locate it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Actually I never looked for it, because they were questioning me, and she was sitting in the car. And they had me inside the place, and they were asking me about it. And so finally I then said,



well, they would have to search her purse. And so I went back to get her. And they called somebody on the telephone, and then came back, and then they completely changed and said, no, we do not have to search her, we are satisfied.

Mr. SOURWINE. This was the American Customs officials?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I did not have any trouble from the Canadians. It was only when I was coming into the country.

And also one thing that bothered me about it was the fact that I was kept there for about an hour. And all of the cars that came through that had white passengers, they did not stop any of them, they just kept them passing on through. And there was only one other black man and his family that came through, and they stopped him and made him get out.

So my wife asked them—because they searched the car twice, the first time they went through the car and they did not see anything wrong—

Mr. SOURWINE. This was your wife's car?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Her car, yes. And they went through it. And they went through the second time, they asked us to go into secondary inspection. And she asked, "What are you looking for? Maybe I can help you, if you are looking for something specific."

And he said, "No, this is just routine."

And I told her, "It appears to me that he is looking for black people, because these are the only ones that he is taking an interest in."

Later he said he was doing it for my protection. And he never explained that.

And I asked him, weren't white people entitled to protection, too.

And he said, no, I shouldn't get them wrong, this was just a routine thing and it had nothing to do with race.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was this officer, do you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know. He was a captain in customs.

Mr. SOURWINE. At Champlain, N.Y.?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you describe the man?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He was a tall man, he was in uniform, and it had a captain's bars on it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he light, dark, blond, brunet?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know. He had a uniform with a captain's bars on it.

Mr. CRAIG. What time of day was this?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was about 11:30, I think, at night. We were coming across the border.

Mr. CRAIG. On what day?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think it was Sunday night, last Sunday night, I am pretty sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. That would have been the 15th?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where were you headed?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I was headed for New York City.

Mr. SOURWINE. New York City?

Mr. WILLIAMS. New York City.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was a long way for that late at night. Were you going to drive all night?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. In fact I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell the customs official or any customs official that you were going hunting in New York and Baltimore?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Nothing of that sort?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You told them that the gun was for target practice?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; I told them that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does your wife know how to operate a gun?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, she knows some, but not much, because we lived in the South, and in the South—plus I organized a charter group for the National Rifle Association there, and we used to do quite a bit of shooting in the South.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean your wife used to do quite a bit of shooting?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I started to teach her and the children, and quite a few people in the community we were teaching to shoot. And we had a charter from the National Rifle Association.

And also I did quite a bit of hunting. And now I am a licensed hunter in Michigan, in the State of Michigan. I have a hunting license.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you get down to Maryland on this trip?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were not in Ellicott City on the 19th?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I didn't stop. The reason I didn't get to Maryland was that we stopped in Philadelphia, and we stayed long enough in Philadelphia on the way here.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you come down here from Philadelphia?

Mr. WILLIAMS. We came in here yesterday.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that was the 23d?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you were not in Maryland at all on the 21st?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

We stopped also in Newark, N.J., and in Jersey City.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am not trying to follow all your movements. We had a report that you were in Ellicott City, and I wanted to check on that.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you see your attorneys in New York?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, yes. I called them on the telephone. What had happened was that the TWA lawyer had a death in the family, or some relative, and he had to fly out. So he wasn't there. And they were going to come to Detroit.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think you should have a right to answer this question on the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Back on the record.

For the purpose of putting us back into the line of what we were talking about at the previous session, do you have plans to head a black revolution in the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I don't have any plans. In fact, I don't have any plans to engage in any political activity.



Mr. SOURWINE. Are you working for a black revolution in the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I am not active in any politics now of any kind.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you seek to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you a member of an organization having that objective?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I don't belong to any organizations now.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have negotiations and correspondence with an organization known as "The Provisional Government of the African American Captive Nation"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I received a letter from them once when I was in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is that organization?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, it was actually an African nationalist organization that advocated an independent state for black people. And they said that it would be impossible for black people to get justice under the present government, and that black people should have a separate determination to decide their own destiny.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does that organization still exist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't think so. To the best of my knowledge, I haven't heard of it.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your present relationship with the Provisional Government of the African Captive Nation?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't have any relationship with it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you become prime minister of this organization?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I would like to offer for the record a photocopy of a letter to Mr. Williams signed by a number of officials of this Provisional Government of the African-American Captive Nation which bears out what Mr. Williams has just said.

(The document referred to was marked for identification as "Counsel's Exhibit No. 37A.")

#### EXHIBIT 37A

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT,  
OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN CAPTIVE NATION,  
New York, N.Y., November 25, 1962.

Mr. ROBERT WILLIAMS,  
% Ministry of Communications,  
Havana, Cuba S.A.

MY DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: The Government sends you its compliments and proudly commends you for the splendid years of service you have rendered on behalf of our people, and the spirit of resistance you have manifested in recent months. It is with regard to your magnificent efforts that the Provisional Government solicits your participation as one of its major factors.

This Government is the result of resolutions adopted by the Emancipation Proclamation Centennial and Reparations Conference held October 12, 13, and 14, 1962 at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. In accordance with the mandates of that Conference, the requirements of our people and the summons of history, the Provisional Government of the African-American Captive Nation invites you to accept the Position of Prime Minister.

Inasmuch as the foundation of this Government represents the irrevocable emergence of the Africans-in-America as a separate new nation with separate

roots, and separate aims, our search for statesmen has thus begun. Your current status as an exile (from Euro-American tyranny) in Cuba, is we think, most strategically suitable. We hope these observations influence your decision in our peoples' behalf.

At the moment of this writing, we are planning an African National-Summit Unity Conference to be held Sunday Dec. 9, 1962 at New York. After this Conference we shall release to the world the announcement of our existence. We hope that we shall have received your reply by that time.

As a point of information you will be interested to know that nearly all ministerial posts in the present Government are held by persons known to you at the time of your visit to New York.

We have enclosed data which we think will sufficiently acquaint you with the events leading up to and forming the character of our program thus far.

We have been informed that there is a channel in Canada through which you are able to make contact with the United States. We recommend that your statement come to us via that channel, since direct communication by mail is unadvisable for several reasons. If you will therefore have that Canadian source re-mail or send us a communication to dispatch a courier for your articles, we think their security will be maintained. Communicate with us in the following manner:

Mr. Serje Khing, 137 W. 96th St., New York, New York U.S.A.

Meanwhile we salute you, and enjoin you to consider the importance of our request and the effect it will have throughout the African World, the Afro-Latin World, and international society in general. We remain

Faithfully yours,

OFUNTOLA OSEBJEMAN KHING-ADEFUNMI,  
*President.*

ABDUL RAHMAN,  
*First Deputy Prime Minister.*

AUDLEY MOORE-IJALUWA,  
*Second Deputy Prime Minister.*

LORETTA LANGLEY,  
*Acting Minister of Finance.*

NOTE: We shall require several 8x10 photos of you in military as well as civilian attire. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you the president of the Revolutionary Action Movement, RAM?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever hold that office?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, but only from a spiritual position, because I was away and it was organized while I was away, and they asked me to become chairman of it, and I agreed.

Mr. SOURWINE. During what period were you chairman in absentia of RAM?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think in 1964, 1963, and 1964 or 1965.

Mr. SOURWINE. How and when did you cease to be the chairman?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I ceased to be the chairman formally in 1968, when they had asked me, because they said the organization was getting such a bad image, they asked me to deactivate it, since I was the only one in that position. And it was deactivated, I think, in 1967 or 1968.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you telling us that RAM no longer exists, then?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It does not.

Mr. SOURWINE. There is no Revolutionary Action Movement in this country today?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not as I know of. And if there is I am not affiliated with it.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the Black Legion, if you know?



Mr. WILLIAMS. The only thing I know is what I have been informed from literature of the Republic of New Africa. That is supposed to be one of the divisions of the Republic of New Africa, and it is supposed to be a defense group for defense purposes of the black people and the black community.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you say it is correct to call it the military arm of the Republic of New Africa?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, in a certain sense I would say that it would be.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Richard Henry, also known as Brother Imari?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. As an official of the Republic of New Africa?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I don't know whether he is now, because there has been some division and I am out of the organization, so I don't know what is going on.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you leave the organization?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In, I think it was December, I am not sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Last December?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you aware of the threat by Richard Henry, also known as Brother Imari, of "possible political reprisals" by the Black Legion against "countries flying the Union Jack in the Western Hemisphere?"

Mr. WILLIAMS. I read about it, and also I heard about it when I arrived here, but I don't know too much about the details.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was because of alleged improper treatment of you by the British?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you concur with Mr. Henry's threat?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. In fact, if anybody made that type of a threat I was opposed to it, because I was opposed to the picket line and boycott of TWA.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know if it is true that the Black Legion is supported by a special tax of \$5 per person on all members of the Republic of New Africa Organization?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I know they are supported by a tax, they are supposed to be, but I don't know what it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know how much has been collected in this way?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know how much has been spent?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what the size of the Black Legion is?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you severed all connections with the Republic of New Africa?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, as an organization.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then I will ask you these questions on the basis of what you knew about it as of the time you severed your relationship.

Was the Republic of New Africa at that time a membership organization?

MR. WILLIAMS. Yes.

MR. SOURWINE. Did it have citizens?

MR. WILLIAMS. Yes.

MR. SOURWINE. Did it have nationals?

MR. WILLIAMS. I don't know, because I have only seen them classified as citizens.

MR. SOURWINE. Just as citizens?

MR. WILLIAMS. Yes.

MR. SOURWINE. You do not know of any distinction between citizens and nationals?

MR. WILLIAMS. No.

MR. SOURWINE. Was every member of the Republic of New Africa a citizen?

MR. WILLIAMS. I doubt that.

MR. SOURWINE. What was the criterion of citizenship?

MR. WILLIAMS. Well, there were a lot of people who said they were citizens of New Africa who didn't even belong to the roster, they were just people in the community who said they supported it.

MR. SOURWINE. Citizens, then, were only the people who had been enrolled as citizens?

MR. WILLIAMS. Yes—

MR. SOURWINE. And all of the members were not enrolled as citizens; is that right?

MR. WILLIAMS. What had happened was, they had made a blanket statement that all black people in this country didn't have American citizenship, so that would make them automatically citizens of the Republic of New Africa.

MR. SOURWINE. Is the Republic of New Africa a corporation?

MR. WILLIAMS. I don't know.

MR. SOURWINE. Is it an association?

MR. WILLIAMS. I don't know, because I don't know how they organized it or under what conditions.

MR. SOURWINE. Have you stated that there were 3 million people associated with the Republic of New Africa?

MR. WILLIAMS. No; I haven't stated it, because I don't know how many people.

MR. SOURWINE. You do not know now how many?

MR. WILLIAMS. No.

MR. SOURWINE. Do you know whether it is in the millions?

MR. WILLIAMS. I don't know. I know that the sentiment for separation would run into the millions, but a lot of people who have sentiment for separation are not necessarily allies for the Republic of New Africa.

MR. SOURWINE. Are there very many instances of individuals taking oaths of allegiance to the Republic of New Africa?

MR. WILLIAMS. I don't think now since I have been back, I haven't heard of any case, because they haven't been recruiting anybody for the Republic.

MR. SOURWINE. Was there much of this, that is, individuals taking oaths of allegiance to RAM earlier in its history?



Mr. WILLIAMS. Quite a few, but I doubt—because of the fact that since I have been back many people have asked me, many people on the streets, how could they join the organization—so I know by that that there couldn't have been any recruitment.

Mr. SOURWINE. How does one join the organization?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did one join the organization just before you resigned?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The only thing I know is that they would attend the meetings, they would go to the meetings, and they would express a desire to join the organization. But what type of ceremony they had I don't know, because I have never been in one of these meetings.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will show you what purports to be a signed oath of allegiance to RAM and ask you if you have ever seen anything like that before.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I have seen this, because this has printed material on this.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that the usual form for an oath of allegiance?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I suppose so, because that is the only one I have seen.

Mr. SOURWINE. This particular one signed by Shurli Grant?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. And the literature, I have seen the wording, and the literature.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Shurli Grant?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not personally, I have never met her.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that a woman?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have anything to do with the delivery of a note to representatives of the British Government threatening reprisals against British property in the subjugated territories of RAM?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. At that time when that note was delivered I suppose I was in prison in Britain.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who delivered that note?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell us what the subjugated territories of the RAM are?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, there was I understand, according to the territory that they want, it is supposed to be the States of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina.

Mr. SOURWINE. Five States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you seen the folder entitled "Black America, Arm Yourself" that I show you now?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. This is some of the literature that was distributed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Distributed by whom?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know exactly, because most of the black nationalist organizations distribute the same type of literature. As for me, I don't know exactly where that came from, because I get a lot of material from all kinds of groups and organizations and individuals.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not recognize this as the product of any particular organization?

Mr. CRAIG. May I note that, although it is difficult to read, it says at the bottom, "Black Liberation Front of the United States of America."

Mr. WILLIAMS. I suppose that is where it came from. But I couldn't say exactly, because they have all kinds of literature that they send out, and I get most of it, because most of the groups are sympathetic toward me, and they support me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any connection with the Black Liberation Front?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have anything to do with the preparation of this particular piece of literature?

Take your time. There are several pages.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. What they have done was—you see, the Black Nationalists and militants over the country, and not only in this country, but in Africa, and in the Caribbean, and all other countries, that they take my work from things that I have said or have written, and they reprint it or reissue it, or sometimes they add to it, and sometimes they subtract from it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that what this is, your work reprinted?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, most of it. Some of it is not.

Mr. SOURWINE. With or without your permission?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They did not bother to get permission, because I was out of the country. But not only that. This happens now all over, even in books that are published, they will take statements that I made a long time ago and use them. They never consult me about it. But they mix it all up, and they pick up some of the old stories, and they redo them. And they also redo some of the articles that I wrote. And they take things from speeches and everything.

Mr. SOURWINE. May I state for the record that the document now being examined is counsel's exhibit 38.

(The document marked "Exhibit 38" will be found in the appendix, p. 143).

Mr. SOURWINE. The last two documents offered for the record and received are counsel's exhibits 38 and 40.

(The document marked "Exhibit 40" will be found in the appendix, p. 162).

Mr. CRAIG. May we go off the record for just a second?

Mr. SOURWINE. Surely.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. On the record.

Do you or did you know Herman Ferguson?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I met him once.

Mr. SOURWINE. Arthur Harris?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I don't know him personally. I may have met him. I am not sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that both Herman Ferguson and Arthur Harris are connected with RNA?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I heard that they were connected with them, but I do not know that. I only got it from the press.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't know that to be true?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know it to be true. Because actually the RAM does not exist.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Republic of New Africa does not exist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I was thinking about RAM I suppose.



Mr. SOURWINE. I believe it does exist. I do not mean to argue with you. If you want to tell us it doesn't, that is fine. As far as you know the RNA does still exist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. As far as I know, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you an issue of the Liberation News Service, No. 231 for February 1, 1970, "Interview with Herman Ferguson and Arthur Harris of the Republic of New Africa." It starts out with an editor's note which calls these two men spokesmen for the Brooklyn Consulate of the Republic of New Africa. Do you know whether that is a correct characterization?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you recall whether you have seen this before?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't remember seeing it.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will call your attention to the fact that there are a number of numbered paragraphs marked on here. For instance, here is underlining, and it is marked "1." A few lines further down on the same column there is a couple of lines underlined, and it is marked "2."

Directing your attention now to the lines which are marked "1," would you read those few lines just to yourself so that you are familiar with them.

Do you, like Herman Ferguson, consider the concept of separation of races to be a part of the self-determination?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I see self-determination not as just a separation of the races, but I see it as the right of a people to determine their own destiny.

Mr. SOURWINE. I might say that I am asking these questions not for the purpose of probing your thoughts, but for the purpose of determining where you stand with respect to the principles of the Republic of New Africa as outlined here.

Now, will you look at the phrase marked "2" there. Do you, like Herman Ferguson, see the struggle of black people in the United States as a national liberation struggle cast in the same mold as the national liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I wouldn't say it is in the same mold as the Vietnamese people. I do think we have a national liberation struggle, but I think our struggle is unique, it is not like any other in the world.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you address yourself to figure 3 in the next column. What about Mr. Ferguson's contention that the white left and others who constitute themselves Marxist-Leninists have it as their aim to seize State power?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know what their aim is. I have had a lot of conflict and tricks with them. They don't agree with what I believe in. And I don't know what their aim is.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you will look at figure 4, you will note that Mr. Ferguson says "It has reached the point where most black people have this feeling of nationalism, you will find it extremely prevalent among the young, the high school, junior high schools, and many of the college students." Is he right about it as far as you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is true.

Mr. SOURWINE. You look at figure 5. At this point he makes a reference to the red, black and green flag. What is he talking about, do you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. These are supposed to be African colors. And most of the black nationalists use these colors as representing black people.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there a flag of the Republic of New Africa?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't think they have officially got a flag, but these are supposed to be the colors.

Mr. SOURWINE. They are the colors, not the flag?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. But when he says the red, black and green flag he is referring to—I am not trying to put words in your mouth—do you understand that he is referring to the colors of the Liberation Movement for Black People?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Actually these are colors that are taken from African countries, and the fact that they are identified with black flags universally.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there a liberation flag as far as you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know of any, because many groups have flags.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you will look a little further down in this article that is marked "6", you will note Mr. Ferguson says, "The red, black and green flag means more than the red white and blue would ever mean to the black community. Is he right about that?"

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think that attitude is developing in most places among black students. To me it is a matter of opinion. But the ones I have seen all over the country, this seems to be true.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is a very serious situation if that is true, isn't it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is. It is very serious. And it is also tragic.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you agree with Mr. Harris—and I will direct your attention to the one marked "7"—"that the entire black community rose up and fought the police and the National Guard and paratroopers. This wasn't any organization, wasn't any organized conspiracy, but it was the overall black community"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I don't think any organization was responsible, and I don't think the entire black community rose up. I am sure it wasn't a conspiracy.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you go along with Mr. Ferguson's contention that if a black man puts a gun in somebody's face or mugs somebody and is arrested for it, he is a political prisoner, because the system has put such an economic squeeze on him that there is no other way he can survive the system?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because I am having trouble with innocent blacks who are being prosecuted and persecuted, and naturally I wouldn't agree with that, because the best thing I can do is keep them off of me, and I didn't mug anybody.

Mr. SOURWINE. Look at section 8 where Mr. Harris says that if a black man goes out to blow up the 155th Street Bridge between Manhattan and the Bronx, that is a political act, addressed to the political problem that confronts the black people. Would you agree with that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I wouldn't agree with the bridge. I wouldn't agree with that tactic. But I think people who are oppressed have a right to relieve themselves in whatever measure, I think it should be legal if possible, but if they can't do it legally I think it is the American way to do it with violence.



Mr. SOURWINE. Look at paragraph 9. Do you agree with Mr. Harris that any black person—

Mr. CRAIG. I don't find it. Perhaps it is unnumbered.

Mr. SOURWINE. I just wonder if you would go along with that statement, that any black person indicted in this country is necessarily a political prisoner?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir. Most of them are political prisoners, but some of them are criminals. But in most cases it is more political and more racial than criminal.

Mr. SOURWINE. Look at 10. Mr. Ferguson says it is time to put an end to taking black people to court, that it is ridiculous for the police to take any black person to court. Do you go along with that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think it is ridiculous for any black person to go into court seeking justice, but I wouldn't say for the police to take a black person to court, because if a black person shoots me, if he commits a crime against me, that is the only recourse I have got.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir. Would you read the Arthur Harris statement that is marked "11" there. Do you have any comment on that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the courts are racist, I would say that. They don't dispense evenhanded justice. But sometimes they work to our advantage. I don't think I could make a blanket statement and just condemn all the courts.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you look down at No. 13 on page 15. Do you consider yourself a revolutionary nationalist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I consider myself a nationalist, but I would never take it on myself. I think it would be immodest to call myself a revolutionary nationalist. It is all right for other people to call me that, but I would never call myself that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you look at No. 14, sir. Do you agree that when revolutionary nationalists talk about power they know what they are talking about and understand that power is never given, never shared, only taken or held?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I think most people—some of them would, but I wouldn't say that a revolutionary nationalist—that wouldn't leave many people. When they are talking about power they are talking about political power, I suppose. It depends upon what type of power they are talking about. Political power and having power to decide one's destiny, to determine one's destiny are supposed to be given by the Constitution.

Mr. SOURWINE. What can you tell us about the acquisition of property by the citizens of the Republic of New Africa?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know too much about that. But I know that in the declaration—

Mr. SOURWINE. There is mention of it at 15 there.

Mr. WILLIAMS. In the declaration—yes—well, I understood according to the declaration that the property would be collective, that it would be collectively held, and they said that it would be collectively defended.

Mr. SOURWINE. There would be no individual ownership?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No individual ownership.

Mr. SOURWINE. And no titles?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No titles.

Mr. SOURWINE. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, I should like to submit for the Chairman's consideration a request that this entire piece from the entire issue go into the appendix of the record, but at this point in the body there be printed only the numbered and underlined excerpts which the witness has had an opportunity to discuss.

(The documents marked "Exhibit 67" will be found in the appendix p. 162; the numbered excerpts follow:)

EXHIBIT No. 67—EXCERPTS

1. you should really examine the concept, the ideology itself, of separation. You should recognize it as part of self-determination,

2. a national liberation struggle cast in the same mold as the national liberation struggles of the Vietnamese people,

3. seize state power

4. It has reached the point now where most black people have this feeling of nationalism, you find it extremely prevalent among the young, the high school and junior high school students, and many of the college students.

5. the liberation flag, the red, black and green flag,

6. The concept has begun to take a hold in the black community, the students understand that that flag means more to them than the red, white and blue could ever mean,

7. And on to the battle of Detroit when the entire black community rose up and fought the police and the national guard and paratroopers. This wasn't any organization, wasn't any organized conspiracy, but it was the overall black community.

8. If someone goes out to blow up the 155th street bridge here between Manhattan and the Bronx, that is a political act because the person is addressing himself to a political problem that confronts his people.

9. we consider any black person that is inducted by America to be a political prisoner,

10. and it's just time to put an end to it. It is ridiculous for them to take any black person to court.

11. the court is the biggest contradiction in our way at this point.

12. In other words, the thing that seems implied is that black people will try and stake out a certain territory.

13. Well then, as black people fight to take over and then defend that land, do you see white people fighting simultaneously in the rest of the country to overthrow the government that you fight as a foreign enemy?

HF Your responsibility would be the internal conflict and our problems would be externally worked out. Since we consider ourselves a separate nation, then it's to a nation's advantage to have friends within the enemy nation that are working for you.

14. as revolutionary nationalists when we talk about power we know what we are talking about and we understand that power is never given, it's never shared.

15. The Republic [of New Africa] has citizens who are acquitting land quietly just as the Nation of Islam has done. The Nation of Islam has said that if they have to they will send a thousand of their brothers down there to defend that land.

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you a copy of the Inner City Voice. Do you know that publication?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I used to receive copies of it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who publishes that, do you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I don't know who publishes it.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is published in Detroit. Do you have anything to do with the publishing of it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But they sent me copies when I was abroad, and I could see that they copied quite a bit of things from my publication. And they seemed to be quite sympathetic toward me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you look at page 1. Do you see the same "Our human decency, manhood and survival demand that we rise up now



and fight these injustices and support Brother Robert F. Williams," and so on?

I said it was on page 1. I was incorrect. It is on an unnumbered page, the first page back of the cover. I am sorry. I show you the page I referred to of this same issue.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is from a leaflet.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is from a leaflet?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did the leaflet originate, do you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, but they were passing them out in Detroit. This has got to do with—they call it a committee to defend Robert Williams—it has got to do with my extradition.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the significance of those three clenched fists portrayed at the top?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is actually a salute and a greeting.

Mr. SOURWINE. On the next page there are three more.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is just the matter of a greeting and a salute. And even now when black people meet each other on the streets they do that, it is a form of greeting. And also it has become the symbol of black power.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does it have any other special meaning?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, with the exception of brotherhood.

Mr. SOURWINE. I call your attention to the fact that it is not merely a clenched fist, but a clenched fist held with the palm forward and the knuckle backward, is that right, is that the way that salute is given?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And is it done with the arm bent, or is the arm supposed to be extended full length?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It can be either way. It is not so much the position of the arm, but just the clenched fist, which means also brotherhood, that we are close together, that we are blood brothers, and this is the form of greeting for our people.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have seen many pictures with many, many people in the crowds with their hands extended at full length above their heads, and the fists clenched, but the palms forward and the knuckle to the rear.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. These people are giving the sign you are talking about?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. It is called a salute. And it is to show brotherhood and unity among the black people.

Mr. CRAIG. I notice the postal workers stole it the other day in the news clips.

Mr. SOURWINE. I saw a great many news clips, if you want to testify about the postal workers, counsel, with the fists. And I found it very interesting to count and to examine with a magnifying glass to see how many of the fists were turned forward and how many of them were just shaking their fists in the air. And there were a great many of these workers that did have their fists turned with the palms forward. There were some who were just shaking their fists in the air, apparently not making the same sign.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Some do not realize it yet. It is like soldiers when they start to salute, they don't all salute alike, they have a very hard time.

Mr. SOURWINE. When they learn it they will all make it with the palms forward; is that right?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the difference between this sign and the Fascist salute, if you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know, I don't know what the Fascist salute is.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never saw anybody giving the Fascist salute?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never saw a picture of Mussolini doing it from the balcony?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But I thought his was the palm. Was it similar to the Nazis?

Mr. SOURWINE. Just like the postal workers that your counsel spoke of?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is also supposed to be a fighting symbol.

Mr. SOURWINE. Forgive me, I did not mean to inject levity into this; it really is not funny at all.

Did you, Mr. Williams, ever fight the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Literally?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Down in Monroe, N.C.

Mr. SOURWINE. I said fight. Does that mean physical contacts, hand-to-hand contact, shooting, or were you just opposed to them politically?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I was supposed to have been. And I also organized an armed defense group to protect our women and children and our community.

Mr. SOURWINE. Again, do you feel it is a correct statement in this article that is before you that you were "hounded around the world by the savage running dogs of U.S. racism?"

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; I believe that is correct. In fact, they are still hounding me and still running me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell me, what is meant by the "running dogs of U.S. racism"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, those are the people who function as a dog, and that is—it is not a thing that they see the necessity of, but they are told, like a dog that is set on a man, when he is told to bite, and when he is told to bark, he will do that, and he will respond. And I am talking about people who do not have any heart, who do not have any intellect, and their action against me is not based upon facts, it is not based upon truth, it is an emotional thing, a response like a trained dog.

Mr. SOURWINE. Like Pavlov's dog?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I take it you do not mean by that, then, Government officials or U.S. marshals or anybody who is performing a function or a duty?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, most—all are not the same—I wouldn't put all law officers or authorities in the same categories, because I have found some quite nice. But then there are others who are just vicious toward me, and they would never believe that I could do anything



sane or anything decent, they just believe that I am some type of an animal to be harassed. And so I feel the same way about them.

In this country we have a longstanding race problem. My grandfather was born in slavery, he was a slave. As his grandson I have never been able to live this down. If I had been white in America I never would have been hounded, and harassed, and treated the way I have been treated. And I resent this. And there are some whites, whether they are in the law or on the outside, that just hate black people. And they hate me most of all. They hate me more than they do ordinary black people, because I have resisted, and also because I have constantly advocated the enforcement of the Constitution.

This was why I got in trouble in North Carolina. It wasn't about subversive activity, but it was because that I wanted our people to be treated equally before the law under the Constitution.

As a result of this, I have engendered much hatred. And many of the people would not give me any kind of break. I worked in the South. I was undergoing economic pressure. I was under harassment. I have had four attempts made on my life. I appealed to the Government of the United States, which I looked upon as my Government. I appealed to the Justice Department. I appealed to the President, and I appealed to different Senators, not for special favors, but for equal protection.

When I had to leave I filed a complaint with the Justice Department against the chief of police, because they had a Klansman recruiting Klansmen in the police station.

As a result of this, I lost more and more. After so long a time I lost hope in the Government. I really saw that it wasn't prepared to support any constitutional rights. And this is why I refer to these people as running dogs, because if they weren't running dogs or animals, they would be willing to hear both sides of the story, they would be willing to hear my side and sit down and listen. But they don't want to hear what I have got to say. They just say, well, the man must be destroyed. And this is wrong.

Mr. SOURWINE. This article that is before you from the Inner City Voice states that you have been branded a black racist. Do you think that is true?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because in the South I belonged to the Unitarian Church, which was integrated. I worked in the NAACP, and our branch was an integrated branch. I worked in human relations. It was an integrated branch. And even now I have white lawyers—

Mr. SOURWINE. You are saying that you are not a black racist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. My question was, do you think it was correct that you were branded a black racist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, it is not correct; that is incorrect.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, sir, in 1957 say that black people must meet violence with violence?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you want to say anything in explanation of what you meant by that? I don't insist, but you should have the right.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. Because in 1957 we had a lot of trouble from the Klan. They had come into the community, and they had shot it up. And we had a series of attacks on black women. Fourteen black women

in 1 month were struck while on the streets by objects thrown from cars by Klansmen.

And also a black woman who was 8 months pregnant was beaten because she resisted a white man who was trying to rape her. And when she came into court the only defense was that the white man was drinking and just having a little fun, and he was not guilty.

And then the defense attorney sat his wife down at the side and said, "Your Honor, you see this pure white woman, this pure flower of life, God's greatest gift to man, this is Louis Mennan's wife"—this was the man who was under indictment—"do you think that he would leave God's greatest gift to man, this pure flower, for that"—and then he pointed to the black woman and as if she may have been on trial.

She broke down and started crying. And then there was an outcry of the black women who had come to the trial.

And the fact was that I had kept the black men in the community from killing this man, they wanted to blow his house up, and I had been responsible. And I told them that we were going to prosecute him legally. And we brought in a lawyer, a white woman who volunteered from New York.

But then they didn't even have a hearing, really, in the court. And they didn't take any evidence against him. And he was acquitted.

So then all the women who were enraged said that I was responsible for this man not being punished, and I had opened the floodgates on them, and what was I going to do, and now what was I going to say.

And I said from that day forward we would meet violence with violence, we would become our own sheriff, and we would become our own judge and jury, and we would become our own executioner, and we would render on-the-spot justice, and if it requires lynching to stop lynching we would be willing to resort to this.

Also in this same court they had freed a man who had kicked a hotel maid, a black woman, a mother of five children, had kicked her down a flight of stairs into the hotel lobby. And they refused at first to issue a warrant. And we had to get the NAACP involved. And this man didn't bother to come to his trial. And he was completely exonerated without even showing up in court.

And this made me realize that this was the last straw, that we didn't have as much protection as a dog down there, and the Government didn't care about us, and that was a matter of survival. And we had to prepare to survive. And I thought it was the American way, because when the Americans lived under British tyranny, which was their government at that time, they resisted it, because it was wrong. And I thought we had the same right to protect ourselves, to defend our women and children. And I thought it would be better to be dead than to be completely subjugated in a so-called democracy under those conditions.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that this be received for the appendix of the transcript. This is Counsel's exhibit 68.

(The document marked "Exhibit 68" will be found in the appendix, p. 171.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Williams, I show you an article from the Detroit News of Sunday, February 15, 1970, which carries your by line. Is that an article you wrote?



Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that it go in the record. It is Counsel's exhibit 66.

(The document marked "Exhibit 66" will be found in the appendix, p. 173.)

Mr. SOURWINE. In this byline article in the Sunday Detroit News for February 15, 1970, Mr. Williams, you wrote:

During my more than 8 years of exile I have been near the center of the past decade's most astounding storms of social conflict and change.

What were those storms of social conflict and change whose center you were near?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I was in Havana when the Cuban revolution was declared Socialist, and when it was declared Marxist-Leninist. When I went there it wasn't supposed to be a Marxist-Leninist government.

I was also there during the missile crisis. And it looked like once there was going to be a big war, a nuclear war between the great powers. I was there during that time, and I was close to it.

Also I was in China during the Cultural Revolution that was going on.

Mr. SOURWINE. You wrote in this article "I was in Cuba when Fidel Castro established the first Socialist country in the sphere of the Monroe Doctrine." When was it that Castro did that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't remember the exact year. It may have been 1962, 1962 or 1963. I don't remember the exact date. But I was living in Cuba at that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Don't you think the Castro government was Socialist before 1961?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; not in the terms of a Marxist-Leninist Socialist government. It was taking Socialist measures. And I know many personally, and people in the government, and he was still insisting that he was not Communist. He said:

We are neither Communist nor capitalist, and we are opposed to domination by either side.

Mr. SOURWINE. Later on he said—

I am a Communist, and have always been a Communist.

Did you believe him when he said that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you know he was wrong the second time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The thing was, before that he said that he was not Communist; that he didn't want to be dominated by either capitalism or communism. But I also knew that he had problems, and he had to rely on some people. And it hurt Cubans very much when the United States put an embargo on things going there, on trade. And he was forced further and further to the left. And I think what I meant when he said he was always Communist-Marxist-Leninist was that he had come to realize that this was where he would be mentally, because of conditions—because of the attitude of the capitalists against Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you know that he was a Communist activist in Bogotá at the time of the Bogotá seizure before he ever took power in Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I didn't know that, and it never came out while I was there. And also I knew that many, many Latin Americans—that there are many radicals and leftists who are not actually members of the

Communist Party, they don't consider themselves Communists, but they form clusters around certain groups, and they activate students.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't know at the time of the Bogotá seizure, when the radio was seized by the Communists, that Fidel Castro had spoken over the radio and had announced to the public that he was a Communist, and this was a Communist revolution that they had instigated?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I didn't know that. And then I didn't pay much attention to that, because of the fact that I lived in Cuba, which was supposed to be a Communist country, and I wasn't a Communist, and so I didn't think too much of it. I know that people can be active and resist things without necessarily being a Communist.

Mr. SOURWINE. You wrote in this article, Mr. Williams, "I was in Cuba during the tense hours of the great missile crisis and I witnessed the emergence of a new and different Cuba." What was different about Cuba after the missile crisis?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I think it started taking a different direction. The Cuban people had been more militant, more pro-Soviet, and more anti-American. And many of them felt let down. And they felt sold out. And they lost some of the fear as far as resisting the United States, and what they called the American imperial system. And they were greatly humiliated because of the attitude of the Soviets.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Williams, you wrote, "I learned that it takes more than just a change of system or government to eradicate old social evils, and that all advocates of violent social changes are not necessarily free of tendencies toward social injustice."

Did you mean by that to say that age-old social evils which existed under the Batista government were continued under the Castro government?

Mr. WILLIAMS. To a certain extent, not necessarily the same degree. But there is yet some hangover from the old system of tradition, and the fact that many Cuban officials were educated in the United States, some at the University of Mississippi, and Alabama, and Louisiana. And they were given scholarships by the Baptist Church and other churches. And they have gone back to Cuba and the government, and though now they claim to be Socialist, they still have some of the same attitudes, and that is that blacks are to be discriminated against, and power should be in the hands of whites.

So it is a different form of discrimination. It is more subtle. But there is some discrimination there. And I felt that just a change of a political system alone would not bring about a change in people overnight, that these old customs they have will linger on for many years. It would be the same in the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were there any new social evils under the Castro government, Mr. Williams?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I doubt that, because actually social evils are so numerous in the world and so old, I don't think they can bring any new ones.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was there any new social injustice under Castro?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I didn't see much, because most people admitted that it was better under Castro than it was under Batista. But I had my own personal reasons for having conflict with them. It wasn't so much



because of what they were doing to me, but certain things that we didn't agree on.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Williams, with what members of the Cuban Communist Party, if any, did you deal while you were in Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I knew Fidel Castro personally and Che Guevara, and other members and government officials, a man named Pineiro, who worked for foreign relations.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was Pineiro's first name?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know. I think it was Alberto, but I am not sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you named all the members of the Cuban Government you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Those are all that I have named. All the members of the Cuban Government knew me. I was given political asylum by the Government, and it was responsible for me. But a lot of times men came to see me who represented Fidel Castro and I didn't bother to ask them who they were. And I don't remember names very well.

Mr. SOURWINE. With which members of the Cuban Communist Party did you have differences relative to the racial situation in the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In fact, the whole party; I had differences with the party, because their concept of the race problem was different from mine. And as a result, we differed.

Mr. SOURWINE. You wrote in the Detroit News, Mr. Williams:

I arrived in Peking at the beginning of the cultural revolution and remained there through its many critical stages until Mao Tse-tung emerged clearly as the leading factor in China's great quest for control of its own destiny.

Did you mean by that to imply that Mao Tse-tung was not the leading factor in Communist China at the time you arrived in Peking?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; not in the sense that they think of here, that many people thought that Mao Tse-tung was a dictator, that had all of the ultimate power. That was not true. He was being questioned—everybody was being questioned, all of the leaders in China, and it was not certain that he was going to emerge as the top leader.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was it that you arrived in Peking?

Mr. WILLIAMS. 1966.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you say Mao wasn't in the saddle at that time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, only in name. He was known as the chairman of the party, but he hadn't been active, and other men were really conducting the business in China.

Mr. SOURWINE. The cult of the personality had not been propounded in China yet, Mao wasn't the national hero.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, from an image he was the national hero. But in essence he really didn't have any power, because the policy was being formulated and executed by other people.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you consider Mao Tse-tung the leading factor in Communist China today?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I consider him one—because they had what they called a cultural revolution committee, and he is the symbol of that committee, and he is considered the chairman of the party.

Mr. SOURWINE. Forgive me, I don't want to quarrel with you, and you are entitled to say what you want to say, but I am trying to make

the record speak truly as to what the difference is. You said just a moment ago that before you went to Peking, although Mao Tse-tung was the great hero of the people and was regarded as the leader, he was not in fact the leader. And then you wrote last month in the *Detroit News* that he had emerged clearly as the leading factor in China. And I am trying to find out if you still consider him the leading factor in China. And it sounds to me as though you hedged on it and indicated you didn't.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I still consider him the leading factor. You see, the thing is that now it is more than just one man—the fact is that they had what they call a committee, a revolutionary committee, and he is the top man in the committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. Has the situation changed since you wrote this article last month?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is just the same now as then?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, and you see, also when I first arrived in China he wasn't active publicly. You very seldom would see him or hear of him being in public. But before I left it was very obvious that he was in public, he was coming out in public, and he was going places. And I saw him on May Day and talked to him, and he autographed one of his books of quotations. But he was more active. And it is a known fact that he is the man now at this time in China, the leader, undisputed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Going back to Cuba, Mr. Williams, when and where did you meet and talk with Che Guevara?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I actually met him at the office. I had met him a number of times. I met him once in a hotel, the Hotel Nacional, in the lobby, he was just going through the lobby. And I talked to him on that occasion. I met him once at a rally, and I met him once just before he disappeared. He called me to his office—and it was in the department of economics—he called me to his office and told me that he was going away.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that when he was head of the Cuban bank?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was after the Cuban bank. Because he became minister of industry after that, and up until the time he left—

Mr. SOURWINE. I am sorry I interrupted you. Go ahead and tell us what he said.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Actually he was just telling me that he was going away, and he would be back in 30 days, he was going to the interior. And he realized that I had some problems in Cuba that I should not have had, and he had just learned about it, and he was going to assist me all he could. And he said he would call me as soon as he returned to Havana in 30 days. But he never returned to Havana.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Che Guevara really a great expert on guerrilla warfare, or did he just rewrite Alberto Bayo's book, do you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know whether he was really an expert, but he had had experience, he had been one of the leaders in the field, in the Cuban revolution. I don't know how much he knew. He never discussed that with me.

Mr. SOURWINE. When and where and how many times did you talk with Fidel Castro if you remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I met him usually—because he didn't have an office—and usually I would run across him in restaurants.



Mr. SOURWINE. You say he didn't have an office?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. The head of state did not have an office?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, he didn't have an office.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did he do his business?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, wherever you can catch him. In fact, the strange thing was that he would come to a person's house. If a person really wanted to see him he would meet him in the hotel. And he had, I guess, 12 or 15 houses in Havana. You never knew where he lived, because he would have these different houses. Also it was a matter of security. One knew where he was staying. But he showed up on the streets often, he just rode around on the streets. And sometimes people would just hail him on the streets, and he would stop, and whatever problems they had he would discuss it with them. But when he used to pass me on the streets, if he saw me even in my car he would always stop, have his guards to stop me. And he wanted to know how I was getting along, and if I was having any problems.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would you say he was good to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, he was good to me as an individual. And he did all that I could expect. But there was just a difference on the race problem in the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever have an opportunity to meet and talk with Ho Chi Minh?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What can you tell us about him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I was surprised, because he was a nice and saintly type of man, and very jolly. And if a person didn't know his record he wouldn't think that he was even a revolutionary. And he told me that he had been in Harlem, he had lived in Harlem, N.Y. And he used to follow the old Marcus Garvey movement, national movement in Harlem.

And he had been a merchant. And I asked him if he was a Communist back there, and he was.

And he said once he had illusions about the United States, that he really expected the United States to help them liberate the country, because he thought the United States was opposed to colonialism. And he had come to this country and he couldn't even get to see any person and influence them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does he speak good English?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; very fluent English.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he tell you how long he was living in this country?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; because he said he came in and out as a sailor on the merchant ships.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have much of an opportunity to talk with him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; around an hour and a half or 2 hours.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where was that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. At the Presidential palace.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was, I think it was 1964.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever have an opportunity to meet and talk with Pham Van Dong?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Only at a banquet, one he invited us to—a banquet before he left.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have a chance to talk with him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He only joked, and we had toasts, and he was just joking about different things.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever have a chance to talk with Chou En-lai?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell us about that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I talked to him a number of times, and I talked to him before I left. And it was about conditions in the world. And also the fact that I was coming back to America. He wanted to know why I was coming back, and why I had so much confidence in the American Government, that I felt they wouldn't kill me. He said as soon as I landed in this country they would shoot me at the airport, and if they didn't shoot me at the airport they would put me in prison and isolate me from my people.

And I said I didn't think they would do it.

And he asked me, why did I have so much faith in this Government.

And I told him that they were undergoing some changes, and that conditions had changed.

And he thought maybe I was right, but he didn't quite understand why I had so much faith in them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Maybe he was talking about things as they would have been in China if the situation had been altered around, and it had been China you were going back to?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. You see, I found in China that they had much more leeway in China than they would have had here. And they put up with more from the students in China than they would put up with here. Because in China I have seen those students come out, and they had that country really sewed up. Those students sometimes would stop a train out on the tracks out in the country and hold it up for 2 or 3 days just to see what official was on there and whether or not he was good. They searched their records. But also I have seen those students go places where soldiers asked them not to go. And the soldiers wouldn't dare fire on them, and wouldn't dare use any violence. And the police in China never use violence against any Chinese.

Mr. SOURWINE. There have been some reports from that country which some people have tended to believe that there was a certain amount of bloodshed in the People's Republic of China over the years. You don't believe this?

Mr. WILLIAMS. There may have been over the years, but I am speaking of the cultural revolution, and what I saw in China. And I know that no government on earth—I wondered how they could afford to let the students have the freedom they had and get away with the things they got away with. But really sometimes it just got out of hand. And there was some violence, but what these people don't know, there was violence between groups of students and people, but it wasn't violence because of reaction of the government against those people.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you talk with Chou En-lai only on the one occasion?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I had talked with him before, and I had been on the roster with him a number of times when they had programs and all kinds of rallies and things, and I had talked to him then.



Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever have a chance to talk with Chu Teh?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I just met him and spoke to him, because he is a very old man now and he is not active in anything.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever have a chance to talk with Liu Shao-chi?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Only briefly. When I first visited China in 1964 I talked with him. We had just a brief talk. It had nothing to do with politics.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is in great disfavor now if he is still alive, isn't he?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether he is still alive?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Before I left he was still alive, and they reported that he had just been repudiated. They have that change system in China, they repudiate people, and they lose face. And usually they send them some place to work, and they will still be there on a pension. And sometimes some people will see them in public. Like the former Minister of Defense, and some of the other officials, they hadn't seen in 4 or 5 years, but here lately they have seen them. So outside if they do not see them they assume that they have killed these people. But it is not true in China. They have got at different system, and it is much different from what we think of here.

Mr. SOURWINE. In your piece in the Detroit News of February 15, 1970 you spoke of having had the good fortune to meet and talk with revolutionary leaders such as Che Guevara, Castro, Ho Chi Minh, Pham Van Dong, Chou En-lai, and Mao. And you have just told us how and when you did talk with these people. And then in the next paragraph of your article you wrote:

To be held in such high esteem by honorable people from all parts of the world and to know that all who met and conversed with me were convinced that I was anything but a criminal, while the power structure in America preferred to condemn me rather than to evaluate my case on the basis of fact and impartiality, was a constant source of irritation and frustration.

I would like to ask you, did you mean in this paragraph to refer back to Che Guevara, Castro, Ho Chi Minh, Pham Van Dong, Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-tung, the individuals you mentioned? Were those the ones who were convinced that you were anything but a criminal?

Mr. WILLIAMS. More than them. Because when I was out of the country I met people from all over the world. And while people don't understand it here, but in China—this is just about the only country where the citizens are banned from China travel. But I also saw professors and scientists from all over the world, and newsmen, and artists, and they never—in fact, I also met people like Prince Sihanouk, I met him in Peking, and talked to him, and people from African countries, and nobody has ever thought of me as a criminal. And this bothered me, because I was supposed to have been an American, and I was able to see—as soon as I would arrive in a country and say I went to Vietnam—right away Ho Chi Minh had me picked up and brought me to the presidential palace. And the same thing would happen in China. And yet I was in this country and I was appealing all the time to the President. I have got letters to show it.

I was asking for protection from even the Governor, and from the Attorney General. And I was never even given protection in this country, not only the right to go before them so that they could

evaluate me as an individual, but there was the source of irritation to me, knowing that I hadn't committed any crime, and that I had been forced out of my home in North Carolina because of the fact that they didn't like me, that I wasn't liked, because I admit that I caused them problems. I caused them problems, but that was no reason for them not to give me a hearing and not to give me justice, to do it under law.

Mr. SOURWINE. The thing I was trying to get at, the point I was attempting to reach was whether you had intended in this article you wrote to describe Che Guevara, Castro, Ho Chi Minh, Pham Van Dong, Chou En-lai, and Mao Tse-tung as honorable men?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think they are honorable men, but I was not speaking just of them, I was speaking of people I have met from all over the world while I was outside the country.

Mr. SOURWINE. Those particular individuals that I have named, five or six names, are a bunch of bloody and tyrannical, dictatorial revolutionaries, aren't they?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, that depends on—

Mr. SOURWINE. I am not trying to put some words in your mouth, you are entitled to say, "Hell, no," if you want to.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That depends on how you look at it, because some people say that the United States, they say that the President of the United States is bloody, and this is what they think about this country. This is why they would ask me, "Why would you go back to a country like that?" But I just judge people on the basis as I talk to them and my relationship to them. Just like in your case, I have heard a lot of things about you, but as far as I am concerned I don't see it. But still from others I have heard about this committee and how bad it was. It may be. But I don't see it. So I wouldn't judge you on the basis of what others say or what I have heard.

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't know whether that is a compliment or not, unless you tell me what it was that you heard that you do not see.

But let us not go into that. I am not the subject of the inquiry. I was interested in your own statement that if it were not for Ho Chi Minh's record one would never have taken him for a revolutionary. So apparently you did regard him as a revolutionary whether you considered him bloody or dictatorial or tyrannical?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, he was the leader of the Vietnamese revolution and the revolutionary people.

Plus the fact that, it struck me so, when he had a birthday cake and the servants started to bring the cake in to cut it and serve it, he said, "No, you sit down, these are my guests." And he cut the cake and served the servants first, and then he served us. And then he had a little boy there who had been napalmed by the Americans, and he had the boy tell us what happened, and how they bombed his school, and when he ran out of the school they dropped napalm on him and then machinegunned him in the jungle.

But other than that he didn't mention about the U.S. imperialists.

Mr. SOURWINE. In this Detroit News article you wrote: "That Nation which is insensitive to the cry for social change and justice and insists on maintaining an outmoded order of oppression for its rights to exist—America is no exception."



Were you saying there that America is insensitive to the cry for social change and justice, that America insists on maintaining an outmoded order of oppression, and therefore that America has forfeited its right to exist?

MR. WILLIAMS. Yes. I think under the Constitution—this Government exists by constitutional powers and authority vested in it in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, and I think it is violating the Constitution and it is violating the Declaration of Independence, and that the American idea, I think unless it changes, and unless it supports these things that it was based upon, that it forfeits its right. It has got no reason to exist. It becomes a tyranny when it violates the common Constitution.

MR. SOURWINE. Do you regard America as a Christian Nation?

MR. WILLIAMS. No. I wish it were.

MR. SOURWINE. If you do not regard America as a Christian Nation, why did you indicate in this Detroit News article that white America should be expected to respect the Christian injunction to do unto others as you would have others do unto you?

MR. WILLIAMS. Well, because they have a lot of churches in this country, and they have people who say they are Christian, but they are Christian in word but not in deed. And if they were Christians they would have to follow the Christian injunction of doing unto others.

MR. SOURWINE. You concluded your article in the Detroit News this way: "There is an awful storm building up against America in the world. I have seen it. Only through righteousness can America avoid disaster."

Were you talking about Christian righteousness?

MR. WILLIAMS. No, I was talking about morality, and becoming more moral.

MR. SOURWINE. Christian morality, Judeo-Christian morality?

MR. WILLIAMS. Yes. And also from the standpoint of the Constitution, that the Constitution is good, and I think it is the sacred document, and it should be followed. But if it is not followed, then the country can't survive. And it is the same with morality, because crime is devouring the country, and hostility, and hatred, and nobody seems to really to be doing anything about it.

MR. SOURWINE. You wrote that you had come back with "the satisfaction that as I have emerged from exile abroad, so shall my people soon emerge from the internal exile at home, either in a greater, more human America, or in the smoke that once was America."

Did you mean by that to encourage people in this country to engage in revolutionary activity?

MR. WILLIAMS. No, I meant that as prophecy, as prophecy of what is going to happen and what is looming now on the horizon. And unless things change, unless they change, this is what is going to happen. It means that America now is at a crucial point, and it must change for better or worse.

MR. SOURWINE. This that you wrote in the article that I have just quoted, was it intended to make clear to the black people of this country that you think they should resort to force if they do not get what they want through peaceful means?

MR. WILLIAMS. I think they are going to resort to force anyway. And I think the whites are going to resort to force to keep them from

getting what they want. And I think the constituted authority is going to not help the black people. And the only thing I am saying there, I meant to prophecy. And I hope as a result of this that some whites—this was directed primarily more to whites than blacks—blacks already know about this hostility, they already feel this feeling of doom and fatalism. But the whites yet, a lot of them don't understand how deep this is and how serious it is. And I had hoped that some whites would see this and would realize that these are serious conditions, and they need attention.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you intend to urge black people in the United States to avoid resort to force except for self-defense, and then only to the extent absolutely necessary?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, yes. I have advocated that they also use violence as defense, for self-defense. And this is only after a breakdown of law and order. Self-defense is only needed if there is no protection under the law. And I have advocated under those conditions, if the lawfully constituted law fails to protect us, then we should resort to violent self-defense of ourselves.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you urge people to seek to possess and obtain aggressive weapons, or do you seek to urge people not to obtain and possess such weapons?

Mr. WILLIAMS. What I seek to urge them to do would be to obtain legal weapons as a part of their constitutional right to have arms in their homes. But I am opposed to arms to be used for aggression other than other people and being abused.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you opposed to people seeking to obtain and possessing bombs, hand grenades, Molotov cocktails, and things of that sort?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I am opposed to bombs and things that are illegal to have. I think they should be law-abiding. We have got to be law-abiding in our struggle, and we can't expect others to respect our legal rights if we don't respect the law itself.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would that include machineguns, sawed-off shotguns and all heavier armament?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are opposed to people having that kind of arms?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you get many requests for your writings on urban guerrilla warfare?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I get quite a bit of requests everywhere.

Mr. SOURWINE. As an example of what I am referring to, I will show you counsel's exhibit 45, which is a letter to you from a south side black militant group requesting your Manual on Urban Guerrilla Warfare. Do you remember receiving that letter?

I have no reason to think you do, I am just asking.

Mr. WILLIAMS. You see, the thing about it, I used to get many of these letters.

Mr. SOURWINE. I was asking earlier, you do get many of these letters?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. And the fact is that a great many of these people I do not know and I have never heard of, and they think I have got some kind of manual that I don't have. But I have some literature that has some description in it of violence and how all this could come



about. And also I had a book out, "Negro With Guns." And the rest started claiming that this was some type of a Bible for the Nationalists. And so it is possible that I have seen this, and many others similar to this.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did you send people when they wrote you for your writing on urban guerrilla warfare?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Actually what I would always do, any time I got an address from somebody who was interested in my writings at all, I would also put them on my mailing list for my Crusaders, not only black militants, but also a lot of white racists—of course, they didn't know I knew they were white racists—organizations like the Minutemen in Virginia, I sent them a copy.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the Reverend Billy James Hargis?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I put all of them on the list.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he ask to be put on your list?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; they would write and ask for this literature.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he a militant?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, he is I suppose a Fascist. I know he is a racist. But I always sent them. I never turned anybody down, even government officials or people who were in the National Press Club here, they wrote all the way to China, and I always sent them whatever they asked for.

Mr. SOURWINE. In your writings did you many times refer to matters pertaining to urban guerrilla warfare?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were those writings, or portions of them, ever brought together in one compilation?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not that I know of.

Mr. SOURWINE. Not by you anyway?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not by me.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that the two communications which comprise counsel's exhibit 45 be inserted in the record at this point, the two requests for writings by the witness on urban guerrilla warfare?

(The documents marked "Exhibit 45" follow:)

#### EXHIBIT No. 45

CHICAGO, ILL., May 20, 1969.

DEAR SIR: I am writing you in your political asylum in the Peoples Republic of China to ask you to please send me some copies of your paper that you had written concerning urban guerrilla warfare in the United States. I am an admirer of yours Mr. Williams, and of the organization that you started to get black people to stand up to this fascist, capitalist, racist, imperialist country. I'm the Minister of Defense for the Black Knights Organization on the south side of Chicago. We closely adhere to the small amount of writings that we've been able to get hold of and treasure them dearly as precious material. We've been pretty unsuccessful in try to identify with your organization the Revolutionary Action Movement more than likely because the great majority of the people in Chicago are not aware of whats happening here and with the other Liberation struggles of the people of the third world, and they just weren't ready for it. We are working for community control for the people and training militarily for the struggle. I am aware of the fact that the paper is about five years out of date but it's only because I came into awareness about a year and a half late for it. My organization is willing to pay the cost of postage to my home address. If the papers the Crusader and the Black America are available here please tell me how to get them. Thank you.

Sincerely Yours,

JAMES LOCKE.

P.S. If possible we'd like copies from the start to end.

PEKING, CHINA, March 30, 1969.

DEAR BRO.: I am opening a Black Revolutionary book store. I would appreciate it if you would send me information on how to receive your publications of *Crusader* and any other material that you would like to be sold in the U.S. Send all information concerning the receiving of the this material to Shaw University, Raleigh, N.C. Estey hall Room 411 and after June 4 send material to two Greendale Ave., Mt. Vernon, N.Y. in care of Alexander Young.

Revolutionary Yours,

BFO. ALEXANDER YOUNG.

MR. SOURWINE. In that same vein I will show you a photocopy of pages 38 and 39 of a book entitled "Guerrilla Warfare, Urban Warfare," with some notes made on the blank space on page 39. That is from a book that belongs to you. Were those notes made by you?

MR. WILLIAMS. Yes; I remember seeing this, but I don't know what the publication this came from, because I get quite a bit of that sent to me. Also as people request things from me they also send me all kinds of things from all parts of the world, and I can't possibly keep up with it.

MR. SOURWINE. I do not think it is particularly important how you got this book, except that it was in your possession, and you did make the marginal notations. And they seem to have some special pertinency with respect to the subject of guerrilla warfare.

I take it those are comments that occurred to you as you read through what preceded?

MR. WILLIAMS. Yes. Because always when I received that type of literature, usually if I had time I would go through it and make notes, because some of it I would agree with it, and some of it I did not. So I would always try to analyze it when I had time.

MR. SOURWINE. Can you tell us whether this is a summary of what you got out of it or whether these are things that occurred to you that he had not mentioned?

MR. WILLIAMS. A lot of this I took to analyze, and things that I just thought that if he really went into that I wouldn't necessarily agree with what was being said. I do not know whether that was taken from a book—

MR. SOURWINE. That is on the page of a book.

MR. WILLIAMS. It is?

MR. SOURWINE. The notes were made on the page of a book.

Do you remember what book it was?

MR. WILLIAMS. The title of the book appears to be "Guerrilla Warfare"—"Suburban Warfare."

MR. SOURWINE. It might have been Che Guevara's book. I am unable to state. Unfortunately I do not have the book here.

I am told it was Che Guevara's book.

MR. WILLIAMS. You see, also in all of these books that I usually read, I analyze them, because this was also a part of the argument of the differences that I had with people, because I know that conditions are different in the United States than in other countries. And there are just things that I did not agree with in there.

MR. SOURWINE. So your comments that you penned in are in relation to the special conditions in the United States?

MR. WILLIAMS. That were different from what their concept would be, or what they think was transpiring in the United States, or what would possibly transpire.



Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the handwritten notes as identified by the witness be printed in the record at this point. It is counsel's exhibit No. 48.

(The handwritten notes marked "Exhibit 48" follow:)

EXHIBIT No. 48

Psy. conditioning—careful recruitment of ex-Army men or ones on leave to give instructions in demolitions.

Dry run improvement of marksmanship with dummy rifles or pellet guns.

Radio controlled model planes.

Slingshots—steel pellets, cyanide pea shooters, hack saws, blowtorches (acetylene) (candles) boobytraps with sawed off shotguns infiltrate N. Guard chemistry students: mixtures.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Williams, what has been your connection if any with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. WILLIAMS. When it was organized I think in 1960 they asked me for permission to use my name as one of the founding members. Also after I went to Cuba in 1960 and came back I spoke in different places about what was happening in Cuba, and I spoke under the auspices of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. But other than that I didn't know anything about the administration, and I didn't have anything to do with it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were never active in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any information about how much money the committee got from Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I do not know if they got any. But I know that when people were going there, tourists—at that time it was free for Americans to go there—when I went to Cuba I went directly from New York on a flight. And at that time they were trying to raise money. They actually were trying to get money for tourist groups to go to Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will tell you, in case that you do not know, that it has already been documented by evidence before this committee, that the Fair Play for Cuba Committee received substantial sums of money from the Cuban representative in the United Nations. But if you do not know about it you do not know about it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know about it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any connection with the Liberation News Service?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I subscribed to their news service when I was in Peking, but since I have been in the States I have not seen it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you sent dispatches to the Liberation News Service?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think I sent one once when Mao Tse-tung made his statement on support by Cuba in America.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was in regard to the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have here the Liberation News Service release of two pages entitled "A Cablegram from Peking," and ask you if that is the dispatch that you sent?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. May this go in the record, please? It is counsel's exhibit No. 1.

(The cablegram marked "Exhibit 1," follows:)

#### EXHIBIT No. 1

LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE, THE NEW MEDIA PROJECT, WASHINGTON, D.C.,

#### A CABLEGRAM FROM PEKING

(The following cablegram was sent to Liberation News Service from Peking and contains the full text of a statement made by Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. According to Robert Williams, who transmitted the statement to LNS, "after the issuance of this statement countless Chinese masses throughout the country took to the streets beating drums and cymbals to demonstrate their support for the oppressed black people of America in response to Chairman Mao's call for action.")

(By Mao Tse-tung)

Some days ago, Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman, was suddenly assassinated by the U.S. imperialists. Martin Luther King was an exponent of non-violence. Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance toward him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and killed him in cold blood. This has taught the broad masses of the black people in the U.S. a profound lesson. It has touched off a new storm in their struggle against violent repression sweeping well over a hundred cities in the U.S., a storm such as has never taken place before in the history of that country. It shows that an extremely powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than 20,000,000 black Americans.

The storm of Afro-American struggle taking place within the U.S. is a striking manifestation of the comprehensive political and economic crisis now gripping U.S. imperialism. It is dealing a telling blow to U.S. imperialism, which is beset with difficulties at home and abroad.

The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed black people for freedom and emancipation; it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the U.S. to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class. It is a tremendous aid and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world against U.S. imperialism and to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese people, I hereby express resolute support for the just struggle of the black people in the U.S.

Racial discrimination in the U.S. is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the black masses in the U.S. and U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the black people in the U.S. win complete emancipation. The black masses and the masses of white working people in the U.S. have common interests and common objective to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the U.S. The struggle of the black people in the U.S. is bound to merge with the American workers' movement and eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

In 1963, in the statement supporting the Afro-Americans in their just struggle against racial discrimination by U.S. imperialism, I said that "the evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people." I still maintain this view.



At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The struggle of the black people in the U.S. for emancipation is a component part of the general struggle of all the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, a component part of the contemporary world revolution. I call on the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals of all countries and all the people who are willing to fight against U.S. imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the black people in the U.S.! People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism and its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of imperialism, colonialism and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off.

#### RAP OUT OF JAIL

CAMBRIDGE, Md., April 23 (Liberation News Service—African American News Service).—The State of Maryland released H. Rap Brown, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) April 18 on \$10,000 bond pending trial on charges that he incited citizens of Cambridge, Md., to riot last July.

Brother Rap was brought from Petersburg, Va., where he was being held facing extradition charges in an unmarked police car, accompanied by several law officers. He was taken immediately to the court in Cambridge where within five minutes his arraignment was held and bail posted. His trial is expected to take place in two or three months.

Soon after the arraignment, Brother Rap was whisked away in another unmarked police car to the airport in a nearby city where he flew to New York. On hand to greet him at the airport were hundreds of brothers and sisters from New York and surrounding area. Cheers of Black Power and Let Rap Rap were heard from among the joyous crowd as Brother Rap emerged from the plane.

It is expected that Brother Rap will remain in New York until he fully regains his health. Bail restrictions included those imposed upon Rap by the Federal court, along with the stipulation that Rap must appear before the Maryland judge at any time the judge deems necessary.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Dr. Martin Luther King killed by an imperialist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think he was killed by a white racist, they didn't like him because of his policy of trying to bring democracy to America for all people.

Mr. SOURWINE. This statement that you sent the Liberation News indicated he had been killed as a result of an imperialist power, or by an imperialist power, and I wonder if you knew what was meant by that? I understand those are not your words.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, they are not my words. That was an official release in China by a Chinese news agency. And I just sent it to Liberation.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand. You do not know what was meant by that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is PL, if you can tell us?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The only thing I know is that it is Progressive Labor.

Mr. SOURWINE. Would that be the Progressive Labor Party, or the Progressive Labor Movement?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I suppose it would be.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is its connection with the Worker-Student Alliance?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is the Progressive Labor or the Progressive Labor Movement a Communist-oriented organization?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know that either. I think they are opposed to me, that is all I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. They are opposed to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know any of the leaders of Progressive Labor?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know any of those in the movement who are opposed to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But I notice from their newspaper they have attacked me a number of times, and also Black Nationalism.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was this that they attacked you, do you remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Before I left Peking in 1968. I don't know whether they have attacked me since then, because I haven't seen their publication. But I know while I was in Peking they were constantly attacking me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Before you went to Peking were you on good terms with the Progressive Labor people?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because of the fact that we had differences on the race issue the same as in Cuba and others.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never met with them in a friendly fashion?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I knew some students who came to Cuba, and I suppose they were sponsored by Progressive Labor.

Mr. SOURWINE. In Havana in 1963-65, I guess it was—no, it was 1963-64, was it not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. There were two groups.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the League of Revolutionary Black Workers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The only thing I know is that it is the black workers inside the UAW. That is all I know about them.

Mr. SOURWINE. By UAW you mean the United Automobile Workers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. The black workers inside the United Automobile Workers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know how big it is, and how many of them there are?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have nothing to do with them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But they supported me in my extradition fight along with other organizations in Detroit.

Mr. SOURWINE. We will recess now and come back at 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:55 p.m. the staff conference recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. on the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Williams, I want to run through your itinerary after you left the United States, or from the time you left the United States in 1961. You went first to Canada, I believe?



Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. First I went to Canada, and from Canada—I stayed in Canada about 6 weeks, and the Government of the United States asked for me—

Mr. SOURWINE. You went through Halifax, didn't you, by Canadian National Railways?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then where did you stay in Canada?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I really don't know, because I stayed in private homes, and one time in an apartment building. I didn't know anything about the city.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't know what town you were in?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I knew when I was in Toronto, and I knew when I was in Montreal.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were in both cities?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Which one first?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I was in Toronto first.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then Montreal?

Mr. WILLIAMS. And then Montreal.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am sorry I interrupted you. Go ahead.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I was in Montreal. And I suppose Nova Scotia or some place. I didn't know too much about that part of the country. Of course I traveled across Canada, but I didn't have too much of an idea of where I really was.

Mr. SOURWINE. You eventually exited from Canada by way of Halifax, Nova Scotia?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I went through there, but I couldn't get out of there, because they had it posted, they had a letter out for me all along the border of Canada.

Mr. SOURWINE. So you did eventually leave Canada by boat, did you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I didn't leave there by boat. Eventually I reentered the United States, because I couldn't get out of Canada.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. Where did you reenter the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, in Washington.

Mr. SOURWINE. In Washington State?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Vancouver.

Mr. SOURWINE. You went clear all the way back across Canada?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. By rail?

Mr. WILLIAMS. By rail.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then entered the United States at Vancouver?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And where did you leave from to go to Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I left from Mexico.

Mr. SOURWINE. You went down through Washington, Oregon, California to Mexico?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

The press in Canada publicized the fact that I was wanted in the United States. So they didn't try to arrest me, they published it first, that the Government had asked the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to apprehend me and return me to the United States. They published it in the press, which gave me a chance to get out of Canada before they started looking for me.

So as a result I went down the coast of Canada. I had hoped I could get out of there by plane. But I couldn't. They had police there. They didn't bother me or seem to be too interested, but they blocked the exit. And they let it be known and obvious that they were there, and that they were looking for me. But they didn't make any effort to apprehend me.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are talking now about when you were coming east?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Before I decided to go back east, I found out I couldn't get out up there.

Mr. SOURWINE. So then you turned around and went west again?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you traveled by the Canadian National Railways?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, by railroad.

Mr. SOURWINE. And reentered the United States at Vancouver?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And did you travel by rail or automobile out through Washington, Oregon and California to Mexico?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I traveled by automobile and by bus in the United States, mostly by bus.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you finally entered Mexico where?

Mr. WILLIAMS. At Tijuana.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you went from there where?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I went down to Mexico City.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you fly from Mexico City to Cuba, or did you go to the ocean from Mexico City and take a boat?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I actually flew.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that on Cubana Airlines?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. From Mexico City?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did that get you to Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think it was in December of 1961, or around in that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. 1961?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, it was in 1961.

Mr. SOURWINE. It wasn't the 29th of September, was it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I don't think it was. I know it was in 1961.

Mr. SOURWINE. The 29th of September?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I know I got in a few weeks before Christmas.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was Havana?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, tell us, where did you stay in Cuba while you were there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I stayed in the Hotel Capri.

Mr. SOURWINE. All the time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I went to the Riviera, and then I moved into a private home on Third Avenue in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. Whose home was that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It belonged to the Cuban Government. It had originally been the home of somebody who worked in the U.S. Embassy on



something. And it was empty, standing empty. So the Government gave it to me, the Cuban Government.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was your wife with you all the time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. She came after I was there. She wasn't with me—she was with me until I got to Canada.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long were you in Cuba, sir?

Mr. WILLIAMS. From 1961 to 1966, to July 1966.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then where did you go?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, after Cuba I went to China, the People's Republic of China.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you fly direct?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I have been to China twice before then. I have been there as a guest invited by the Chinese Government for their National Day.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was that that you first went to China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In 1964, I think.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had gone from Cuba to China in 1964?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I went from Havana to Moscow to Peking. And then in 1965 I went back again for their National Day. I was invited as a guest. I went from Havana to Moscow to Peking to Hanoi and back to Peking.

Mr. SOURWINE. You went to Hanoi both times?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, only once.

Mr. SOURWINE. The second time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. In 1965?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then in 1966 did you follow the same route when you went to Peking?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, without going to Vietnam, I went directly from Havana to Moscow, and from Moscow to Peking.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you arrived the second day of January 1966?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I arrived in China in July of 1966.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then how long did you stay in China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. From 1966 until 1969. Around about the first of June or the last of May in 1969 I left China.

Mr. SOURWINE. And went to Tanzania?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. It is a fairly expensive matter to go to Peking, and you went three times. Who paid the expenses?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the Chinese Government invited me. One time the Cubans paid—at least they offered to pay, but the Chinese wouldn't let them pay, the Cubans wanted to pay my way, but the Chinese paid it, because I was a guest invited by the Chinese Government.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it the first, second or third trip that the Cubans wanted to pay for?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The first one.

Mr. SOURWINE. And after that they didn't make any more efforts?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because the Chinese wouldn't accept the pay from the Cubans.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you buy your own tickets?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. The Foreign Minister in Cuba arranged for the passage. An organization in China called The Peace Committee was

responsible for getting the tickets for me. I didn't buy them. They had the credits there. I just had to apply for the tickets.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you used their credits?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is the way they issue tickets, without paying directly, they will be billed by the airline.

Mr. SOURWINE. The tickets were not paid for in cash?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I didn't pay cash. They may have paid cash, but the cash didn't come through my hands.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't buy your own tickets, then?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. I was a little puzzled about that. I have the stubs of the tickets here. And they indicate that they were paid for in cash.

Mr. WILLIAMS. They may have been. But they were probably paid for by somebody from the organizations.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was it that handed you the tickets when you finally got them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. When I finally got the tickets, they were handed to me at the airport by the Embassy personnel, the Chinese Embassy, because they saw me off, and they were responsible for me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever do any writing for La Prensa Latina?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I wrote a series of articles for La Prensa Latina on the race issue in this country.

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you a photocopy of a special News Service release from La Prensa Latina carrying an item about the grant of political asylum to you. This is dated October 1961. Did you furnish them with any information for that, or was it prepared by them from sources that you do not know about?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, some from me and some from other sources. They already had some knowledge of my case.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember having seen that story?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, but I remember having been in the press.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you look at the index you will see the page number of it. It is at the end of the release. Can you tell us if that is a substantially correct account?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That one is.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. I would like to offer for the record the text, not of the entire News Service release, but just of the article headed "U.S. Negro Leader Robert Williams Granted Political Asylum in Cuba."

(The document marked "Exhibit No. 62" follows:)

#### EXHIBIT No. 62

#### U.S. NEGRO LEADER ROBERT WILLIAMS GRANTED POLITICAL ASYLUM IN CUBA

Hoy, October 3.—Yesterday afternoon, in the Ministry of Foreign Relations, it was announced that U.S. Negro leader Robert Williams has been granted political asylum by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. Williams was forced to flee from the United States as a result of the bitter persecution by the Ku-Klux-Klan due to his struggle for the rights of U.S. Negroes to a decent life.

Mr. SOURWINE. That indicates you were granted political asylum.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you required to make a formal request for this?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I was required to make an application in writing for political asylum that would allow me to stay in Cuba over the regular time of a tourist.



Mr. SOURWINE. This purports to be a photocopy of the petition for asylum that you filed. Can you identify it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was a scratch page of the draft that was going to be drafted.

Mr. SOURWINE. This was a preliminary draft?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. It is not an exact copy of what was put in it, but it was a rough draft—a draft. Because they came to me on the spur of the moment, and they said that Fidel Castro was ready to grant me political asylum, but I needed to apply in writing.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have a copy of the petition you did file?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't think so, because this was in the foreign ministry, and it was done on the spur of the moment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it substantially similar to this draft?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is similar in some cases.

Mr. SOURWINE. May this draft, exhibit 49, go into the record on this basis?

Mr. CRAIG. No objection.

(The document marked "Exhibit No. 49" follows:)

#### EXHIBIT NO. 49

HAVANA, CUBA, October 2, 1961.

*To the Minister of Foreign Relations, Havana, Cuba:*

I, Robert Franklin Williams, who was born in Monroe, North Carolina, U.S.A. on the date of February 26, 1925 as a descendant of captive people who had been kidnapped, bound in the chains of slavery and brutally forced from the bosom of their African motherland, do for the following reasons, request asylum in the free Republic of Cuba:

I. Because much terror is directed against my race in the U.S.A. Racists are now waging a mass program based on violence and starvation for the inhumane purpose of genocide.

II. That because I had advocated rebellion and self defense against the Ku Klux Klan terror, tyranny, mayhem and all forms of barbaric oppression, I became a special target of the Klu Klux Klan, the white citizens councils, the Southern Patriots, Inc.

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you another handwritten document that appears to be in your handwriting. That last exhibit was counsel's exhibit 49. And this is counsel's exhibit 50. It is on the letterhead of the Crusader. And it apparently refers to a trip to Sweden or a planned trip to Sweden. Your handwritten note there says "in conjunction with trip to Sweden." What is this all about? You didn't go to Sweden; did you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I wasn't allowed to go to Sweden.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who refused you, Sweden or Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The first time Cuba, and the second time Sweden, because the Cubans said if I went over there I would be killed or murdered by the CIA, and they would not allow me to go. And I had requested to go, and I had been invited there, but I was not allowed to go.

Mr. SOURWINE. These were just your plans for a trip to Sweden if you had got to go?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; that was what I had to submit, because I had to have a reason for going to Sweden. But the reason wasn't approved.

Mr. SOURWINE. May this document, exhibit 50, go in the record at this point?

(The document marked "Exhibit 50" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 50

THE CRUSADER

MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

*In Conjunction With Trip to Sweden:*

Establish Crusader Distribution Center.

Bank account to aid small papers—

Carry out extensive organization of RAM—

To aid local groups and fighters—

Contribute to defense of RAM Cadres—

Enable some leaders to meet and confer with me.

To have immediate funds there to aid in my return home next year. (This will give some independence in my choice of defense method) and will not leave me entirely at the mercy of possible government infiltrated organizations.

Emergency funds. I will be able to purchase international money orders or cashier checks that do not require name of sender. It will be much better for the people involved if this is done on a personal basis from Europe.

Mr. SOURWINE. I would like to ask you about some of the notes you have here. One of your purposes, I take it, is referred to by your note No. 1, was to establish a Crusader distribution center?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were going to distribute your paper in Sweden?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever get such a distribution center established?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I had quite a few places in Europe, in Britain, where I had a distribution center, and a book store in Sweden also distributed it. But I wanted a larger center that would be good for the whole world, including Europe.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then your second point here was, bank account to aid small papers.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the idea was that I wanted also to collect money, to establish a bank account where people could send the money, because in the States I had charged for subscriptions, and people had given me money for the Crusader. But the idea was that Americans couldn't send money to Cuba, it was against the law. So I wanted to establish a bank account so that when I made appeals for funds money could be deposited there.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then you had the note, "Carry out extensive organization of RAM." Would that be in Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, that would be all over the world. Actually RAM was an organization of other black people that had an interest in the Caribbean and other places.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that in connection with the bank account too?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, but that would have helped.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then your third line under number 3, bank account, is to aid local groups and fighters?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Local meaning there local from different points in the United States, or all over the world?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Actually all over the world, wherever they were fighting against injustice, that I would be able to have a center, an international center where I could collect money from all over the world,



and I could help give groups whenever they had difficulties in their locality.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then your note here in the next line was, "Distribute to defense of RAM cadres." Does that mean legal defense?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, legal defense, because a lot of them have been indicted and have picked up all kinds of charges, and I wanted to be able to help them.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the next line under bank account is, "Enable some leaders to meet and confer with me." Did you mean in Sweden, or in Cuba, or wherever it was convenient?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Actually in Sweden, Africa—I had planned to call a conference of black leaders from all over the world to come and confer.

Mr. SOURWINE. But that also would require contributions?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your point 3 was to have immediate funds there "to aid in my return home next year."

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And these funds also were to be raised by contributions from people in the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. From the United States, from France, Britain, Germany, and different places where they had progressive people who were in sympathy with us black people, they would have raised the money so that I would have money when I returned to this country.

But you see, also this should be kept in mind, that this was not the time I came home this time, I had a plan to come home from Cuba to the United States in 1965 before I went to China. And I had planned to come here. But the State Department did not give me the necessary documents that I needed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you make a request of the State Department?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; at the Swiss Embassy in Havana.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was it you needed, a passport?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I needed a travel document, because I didn't have one good for the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean a birth certificate?

Mr. WILLIAMS. A passport that would have only been good for a trip to the United States. I didn't have a passport.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of course as an American citizen you don't need a passport to reenter the United States, do you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I was coming through Canada, and it would have been necessary for me to come on the Cuban boat. And then when I got to Canada the customs wouldn't have let me into the country if I didn't have one.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. Now, your point 4 here: "Emergency funds. Will be able to purchase international money orders or cashier's checks that do not require name of sender."

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. "It will be much better for the people involved if it is done on a personal basis from Europe."

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. That is true, that I was sending—I wanted to get money to send to people when they had any kind of emergency, people who were my friends in different organizations, if they needed money, if they were sick or anything, any emergency that might arise,

say even if they were arrested, or they were undergoing economic pressure.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean you were afraid that if they got money from Rob Williams it might hurt them some time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, because they had created a bad image for me, and I didn't like the idea even though I raised money to send it in that name.

Mr. SOURWINE. That fell through, didn't it, you never established a Swedish bank account.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever establish an account anywhere that would serve any of these purposes?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. The only account I established was when I was coming home, and that was for my passage and the money I brought into this country.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you established that account in the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I established it in Africa.

Mr. SOURWINE. I beg your pardon.

That completes the explanation of these notes. These were set down while you were in Cuba, you say, in early 1965?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, probably the last of 1964, when I was trying to return to the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever get into Korea?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You left China in 1968 to go to Tanzania?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And how long were you in Tanzania at that time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. About 5 months.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then you returned to China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And then you went back to Tanzania in May of 1969?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you left Tanzania and you came to the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. By way of Great Britain?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. But when I first went to Tanzania I went there actually to try to get a passport, so that I would be able to—

Mr. SOURWINE. Again trying to come back to the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Julian Mayfield?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I have read his work.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him personally?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, just vaguely.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he help you to get an invitation to visit Africa?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask him to help you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. A long time ago I think when he lived in Ghana.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he help you get out of Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You asked him to but he didn't?



Mr. WILLIAMS. No, after I lost track of him I didn't know where he was, I just heard that he was in Africa, but I didn't know where.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't get in touch with him and ask him to help you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I had sent out a request for the group of Afro-Americans that lived in Africa that he knew. And I was inquiring about the possibility of my coming to Ghana, because I wanted to leave Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. You left Cuba July 15 or 16, 1966?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, along about that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you flew from Cuba to Moscow. That is a 16-hour flight.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And how long were you in Moscow, do you remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Three or four days.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entries for July 18, 1966 refers to meeting "many Americans in Moscow." Can you tell us what Americans you met in Moscow?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they had an exchange, a cultural exchange, an exchange of scientists, and of scholars, and they were living in the hotel where we stopped over.

Mr. SOURWINE. What hotel was that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was, I think the Ukraine Hotel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell us the names of any of the Americans you met in Moscow in July 1966?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because I had never seen them before, and they were only interested in me as an American. And they were people who were attending some scientific meeting or other.

Mr. SOURWINE. None of them were old acquaintances?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You went from Moscow by air across Russia, I think you told us.

While you were still in Cuba what was your connection, if any, with the Government of Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I had political asylum, and the government was responsible for me, and supported me. But other than that I didn't have any relationship, any formal relationship.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not work for the Cuban Government?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, never.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they pay you anything?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. After I had been there a year they started giving me an allowance. And this was a family allowance.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it enough to live on?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, or just barely?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, it afforded me the opportunity to live well.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you receive that allowance?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I actually received it from the party, the Cuban party.

Mr. SOURWINE. In cash?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. In Cuban money?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was in Cuban money.

Mr. SOURWINE. How often did they make the payments?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Every month.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have to go to get it, or did somebody bring it to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I had to go get it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You went to party headquarters to get it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They had a pay section at party headquarters where they distributed money.

Mr. SOURWINE. There is no gold in use in Cuba, is there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know a man named Vallejo?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. That was Castro's doctor.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he your physician too for a while?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But he also served as a liaison between Fidel's friends and Fidel. But he was their personal doctor. And also he served as somewhat of a secretary. And if you wanted to see Fidel, he was the one man that would always know where he was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Dr. Valleso, incidentally, is dead now, isn't he?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is what I heard.

Mr. SOURWINE. In Cuba what contact did you have with SINJUA, the Chinese service?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I used to get their news bulletins that they issued all the time, I used to get those news bulletins.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't do any work for them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't write anything for them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. Sometimes they would interview me, they did some interviews.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have regular contact with the Embassy of the People's Republic of China while you were in Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, because I had friendly relations with them, and I also attended all of their diplomatic affairs.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was your contact with the Communist Chinese Embassy?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, actually there was no certain individual there. Sometimes I was invited there by the Ambassador.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was the Ambassador?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't really remember his name, because I didn't take any personal interest in him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who did you see when you went to the Red Chinese Embassy?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I would see—if I went there for a ceremony or anything, the first thing, they would take me to the Ambassador, and he would always greet me and greet my wife, and usually it was just a matter of circulating among the guests from all over the world.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did the American Ambassador become a friend of yours?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. In fact, all of the Chinese were very friendly toward me.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you don't remember what his name was?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because they have some names that sound alike.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Chinese Ambassador went down to see you off when you went to China in 1964, didn't he?



Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. But not just for me. There were also some Chinese technicians that were leaving. So he was there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever receive any money from anybody through the Red Chinese Embassy in Havana?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, only as far as transportation. That was done through tickets, and also for what would be considered spending money on the trip.

Mr. SOURWINE. And how much did they give you for spending money, if you remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think they gave me—I don't remember correctly, but it was between \$300 and \$400 that they gave my wife, and they gave me the same amount, for spending in flight.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have told us about having a contract with a man named Pineiro in Cuba. What position did he hold?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He was on a committee, Foreign Relations. And he was one of the party officials. I don't know exactly what it was. And he was also a policeman. He was one of the police officials.

Mr. SOURWINE. What experience or association did you have with him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. None, only that a few times Fidel—when I first got there he was one of the ones that was responsible for my welfare.

Mr. SOURWINE. And did he handle your case personally?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He was supposed to, but he didn't.

Mr. SOURWINE. He did not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who did he pass it over to, if you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Some of the other people, some in an organization called ECAP, and some of the minor officials. But he had been told to handle my case directly, and to see to it that I did not have any problems in Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. While you were in Cuba did you know Celia Sanchez?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No—just in the line of her duties in the Government, but I had met all the Cuban officials.

Mr. SOURWINE. What were her duties in the Cuban Government?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, when I first went there she was secretary to Fidel Castro.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that her total connection with Fidel?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, at that time, she also kept up with everything for him, and served him as a secretary. But I think she was also a member of the ORI, which is a Cuban party.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary shows an entry on the 22d of March 1966, "Mabel calls Celia Sanchez." Do you remember what that was all about?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I was having some problems, and I was trying to see Fidel Castro. And so I called her to get an appointment with Fidel Castro, plus the fact that I was having trouble getting paper for my publication.

Mr. SOURWINE. And she was his secretary at the time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary for March 25 indicates you called the Foreign Ministry, Osmany's office. What foreign ministry was that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Cuban, Pineiro, Osmany and Raul Roa were on the Foreign Committee, the head of Foreign Affairs, so they all worked together.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was the Foreign Ministry of Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was your relationship with Osmany?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, actually none, only that he was on the Committee for Foreign Relations, and that he had some authority in foreign affairs. The fact was that I was trying to leave Cuba, and I was trying to get permission.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Osmany his first name or his last name?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was his first name.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you referring by any chance to Osmany Cienfuegos?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Raul Roa was the Cuban Ambassador to the United Nations?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. And he was also on the Committee for Foreign Relations; there are three of them.

Mr. SOURWINE. And he was, incidentally, the man who transmitted funds for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee that we talked about earlier?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I didn't know it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't know that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. The same entry in your diary refers to calling Celia Sanchez' office shows that you went riding with Raul. Did that refer to Raul Castro?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; that was a Cuban, Raul Sinclair, a Cuban of Jamaican extraction.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he an official of the Government?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; he was just a worker.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, on March 26, 1966, your diary records a visit from a Dr. Prieto. What was his first name? If you recall?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know, because the problem was, I was having stomach trouble, and he was responsible for taking care of that.

Mr. SOURWINE. On the day of April 5, 1966, your diary indicates that you had a visit from Alfred and Martha Stern. Who were they?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they were some Americans who lived in Cuba. I don't know too much about them. I didn't know them in the States.

Mr. SOURWINE. In Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. In April of 1966?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know anything about them, you say, except that they were Americans?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; they were Americans. I never heard of them in the States. But they were in Cuba at the time.

Mr. SOURWINE. They were in Cuba in April of 1966?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And did they visit you for any particular purpose?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; because most Americans who came to Cuba visited me.



Mr. SOURWINE. Alfred and Martha Stern, do you recall whether they were black or white?

Mr. WILLIAMS. White.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't know her as Martha Dodd Stern?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; not until she came to the house. She said that she was a writer, and that was one reason she was interested in me, she was doing some writing.

Mr. SOURWINE. She is a daughter of a former U.S. Ambassador; is she not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know. If she is, she didn't say so.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't know the story about Alfred and Martha Dodd Stern?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that they were Communists?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; I didn't know they were Communists.

Mr. SOURWINE. They never disclosed that to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; they didn't talk about that. She wanted to interview me, and she said she was doing some writing, she was a writer, and she wanted to talk to me about the race problems that I had had.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you see them again after that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I saw them usually at some of the state functions, and the banquets, and sometimes I saw them on the street. In fact, I visited them a time or two after that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where were they living?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They lived in Havana at the Libre Hotel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were they also guests of the Cuban Government?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know that.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not know where they went?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. They were there when you left Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. While you were in Cuba as you have told us, you received support from the headquarters of the Communist Party. Was it your understanding that that money came from the Cuban Communist Party or from the Cuban Government?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, my idea was, I did not think it came from the Cuban party as such, because I had had difficulty with the party. But this was a direct result of an order by Fidel Castro.

Mr. SOURWINE. If he had ordered it the party would have paid out the funds; wouldn't they?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, but a lot of things he ordered they didn't do.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you did not consider that you were receiving financial aid from the party?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Not as such. I always thought of it as coming from the Cuban people, and directly from Fidel, because the Cuban people also were very interested in supporting me, and they said the Government did not support me enough. And then later I had to go to the party to get it, and I had some differences with the party. So that is why I didn't feel justified in going to the party to get money when we had a sharp disagreement.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say you did not think you were receiving aid from the party, but your diary entry for April 30, 1966, includes the

statement, "Today is supposed to be payday, however, I have stopped accepting financial aid from the party."

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is right. I mentioned the party because it came through the party.

Mr. SOURWINE. It came through the party, and you knew you were getting it from the party, but you didn't think of it as being received from the party?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because the party had never agreed to give me anything. The party had never agreed to help me. This was done—I had been there a year without any help from the party until Fidel Castro personally ordered the party to give me the money. But it wasn't a party thing, it was his own personal funds.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. When was it that you stopped accepting financial aid from the party? Was that the first time, April 1966?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know, because about 6 months before I left Cuba—I have even forgotten it—I am not familiar with it.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you get along after you stopped accepting financial aid from the party?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Actually I had been receiving money from people who had sent money to Cuba, plus the fact that because they did not have many consumer goods in Cuba, I had money that had accumulated.

Mr. SOURWINE. How was that money that you received while you were in Cuba brought to you, how did you receive it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I used to receive money through the mail. Sometimes people would just put a dollar bill, \$5, or \$10, in the mail from the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. And your mail wasn't opened?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, sometimes it would be opened, and sometimes things were sent to me that I never got.

Mr. SOURWINE. But the money would come through?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Occasionally. But the problem was, these were people in the United States who didn't understand that. So I wasn't asking them for the money, but they were just sending it.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand. Did you ever receive any money in checks?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; I think I did receive some.

Mr. SOURWINE. Could you cash or deposit U.S. checks in Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did you do with them when you got checks?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In fact, I had them piled up down in my study when I left, and I forgot them. And I don't know what they did with them. They were left in the house where I stayed.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Cuban Government does business with banks in Canada, doesn't it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. It could have sent those checks to Canada and cashed them, couldn't they?

Mr. WILLIAMS. But I wasn't in good relations with Cuba then.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Leonard Boudin?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is he?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He is a lawyer who also handled my sit-in case, he took it to the Supreme Court.



Mr. SOURWINE. He was your counsel?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And he is also an attorney and/or lobbyist for the Cuban Government, is he not?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I don't know. But I know that he did—he was also close to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is or was registered as a foreign agent for Cuba. Did you know that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I knew that he represented them or had some business with Cuba, he had a relationship with the Cuban Government.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he ever bring you money?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry for May 6, 1966 indicates you had breakfast with him. He wasn't your counsel at that time, was he?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. He was when I was in the United States and had a sit-in case.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am not asking questions about what happened while he was your counsel.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, he wasn't my counsel. But I wanted to see him, in fact I asked to see him, because of the fact that I think he was also the counsel for Marzani, the man who was supposed to publish my books. And Marzani hadn't paid me, so I was trying to collect the money.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he have a contact with Marzani?

Mr. WILLIAMS. A contract?

Mr. SOURWINE. A contact with Marzani.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I suppose he was his lawyer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Boudin was Marzani's lawyer?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were trying to get him as Marzani's lawyer to get you money for your book, not as your lawyer?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, because of the fact that he had also been my lawyer too, and I wanted to see if he could peacefully get my money without a lawsuit.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you get any money?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your entry for May 31, 1966 has reference to the boys getting off via Prague. That refers to your sons?

Mr. WILLIAMS. In what year was that?

Mr. SOURWINE. May, the end of May, that is Memorial Day, May 31, 1966. It refers to the boys getting off via Prague. What boys did that refer to? Maybe I should ask the question that way instead of trying to put an assumption.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not think it refers to my boys. It was probably somebody I knew.

Mr. SOURWINE. The entry says, "They had a stop-over in Paris and London and to take my manuscript to Richard Gibson, Radio Free Dixie." What manuscript was it and who took it to Richard Gibson for you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. These were some people from the Dominican Republic. And I was only sending a manuscript because I couldn't trust it in the mail. This was a manuscript that I was trying to get to Europe to be published.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember who those people were?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who any of them were?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was one of them named Villeya?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It is possible.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't know. Do you know a Dominican named Villeya?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. The idea was, because of the mail situation and communications, many times people who came to those countries where I was, I used every opportunity—

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand. Now, Richard Gibson was in the Dominican Republic, wasn't he?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, he was in London.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was in London?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. With Radio Free Dixie?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, that was just a manuscript I called Radio Free Dixie.

Mr. SOURWINE. So the manuscript was named Radio Free Dixie?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And that is what these Dominicans took to Richard Gibson in London?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Gibson was a former associate of yours on the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, is that right?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was he going to do with your Radio Free Dixie manuscript?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Actually a German publisher was interested in publishing it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that Der Spiegel?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, they were interested in another one, but it was a smaller publisher.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they eventually publish it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because I never did get all of the finished material to them.

Mr. SOURWINE. What other connections have you had with Gibson, if any?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, only that and the Crusader, through my newsletter, he got a lot of subscriptions for me, just subscribers. And I also saw him when I passed through London. In fact, he came to the prison to see me, in fact he was the first one they let in.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were in prison?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us about how that happened.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, that happened because I was en route from Tanzania to Britain. And the British Embassy said I did not need a visa because I was in transit—

Mr. SOURWINE. When they retained you they put you in prison?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, because they said the FBI had told them that I was carrying firearms and ammunition.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you?



Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they make any criminal charges against you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you were imprisoned just the same?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I was imprisoned because they said I was in Britain without a visa, and I was a prohibited immigrant. But I had been told that I was in transit. And the fact was that—I asked them why was I put in prison, and they said it was because TWA had refused to honor my ticket.

Now, the ticket was bought on TWA, and I had a reservation. So when TWA got me to London and refused to fly me to the States, that made me a prohibited immigrant in Britain. So they put me in jail for a week.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry for June 19, 1966, reported: "Clamping down on spending, trying to make money last. No income since stopped money from party." That would appear to indicate on its face that after, as you say, you stopped accepting money from the party, you didn't get any from anywhere?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, only what was given to me, small amounts that were sent to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry for June 20, 1966 carries the entry "Martha Dodd says that the Cubans are sure to let us out when the time suits them." Does that refer to Martha Dodd Stern?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I suppose so.

Mr. SOURWINE. You must have known her as Martha Dodd, then?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry of June 29, 1966, says: "About the only thing operating on schedule these days is the grocery man and we're afraid the party may cut him off at any time." Was the Cuban Communist party paying for your groceries?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. I had to pay cash for the groceries. But it was a diplomatic store, it was a special store where the diplomats traded.

Mr. SOURWINE. You meant that the party might refuse to let you make purchases, is that what this note referred to?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Williams, we have a number of pictures of which we would like to have identification from you. We would like to have you identify as many of the individuals for the record as possible. This can be a very time-consuming procedure. But if you are willing, and your counsel agrees, we can submit these pictures to you with the record, and when you correct the record you can return the pictures. I will state that another way. We will give you the pictures now. And when you return the record you can return the pictures. You can mark on each picture the individuals you can identify. And we will let the stipulation be, if it is agreeable, that those that you do not identify you are saying that you cannot identify.

Mr. CRAIG. It is so stipulated, counsel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that satisfactory?

Mr. CRAIG. Fine.

Mr. SOURWINE. We have several batches of pictures. Here is a group of five individual pictures which appear to have to do with your press conference upon your arrival in Cuba, and with other

official matters ending up with an official visit in China where you stood alongside of Mao Tse-tung.

You can say whatever you want to about those. I am hoping that these pictures will refresh your memory and you can give us a little time about each case, and what you know of the individual, and what happened on the occasions.

Mr. CRAIG. Counsel, would it be efficient for Mr. Williams to take the original photographs, noting on the back the time, the place, the date, the event and the names?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes; it would be.

Mr. CRAIG. And after that, if there are additional questions—it seems to me those are the salient issues, where, when, and who.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is right.

And we have two more batches here. They are counsel's exhibits 55 and 56. And in some cases there are partial identifications clipped on where we have been able to make identification. You are not charged with knowledge of those.

Mr. CRAIG. Right.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not have to copy them down. If you recognize people yourself, mark them, and do not take our word for it.

Mr. CRAIG. We may take those with us tonight, and by tomorrow Mr. Williams will be able to respond.

(At this point in the staff conference a short recess was taken.)

Mr. WILLIAMS. On these things in Detroit, when they came to the customs, I had two typewriters, and they practically tore them up. One was practically new, a new German typewriter. And I had to put it in the shop.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who tore them up?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The people from the customs in Washington.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not mean anybody representing this committee?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Whoever subpoenaed them from Washington, the people who went to the customs to go through the customs, the customs people said they didn't go through them, but somebody from Washington did. And just for spite, just out of hostility, they just tore up things. And I had everything filed so that I would know what was what and how to get it. And they twisted up the files in the different boxes. And I had 11 cases, and they just mixed up the cases, and it will take me a year to go through that stuff and get it back.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know who did this?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did anyone in the customs service tell you who did it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They just said some people came from Washington, that they didn't—

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they identify the people in any other way than people?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They said they came there with a subpoena, a subpoena to check for things that they wanted.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who said this, Mr. Williams?



Mr. WILLIAMS. The man who is the head of customs in Detroit at the border, at the bridge.

Mr. SOURWINE. He said that the people who came from Washington with a subpoena had torn up your typewriters?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He said they were the only ones that went in there, that they didn't handle that stuff, but they had given a summons to them, and it was taken out of their hands, and they were not responsible for the damages and for the files being mixed up, and they didn't even know what was taken out. But the problem is, they had charged me for receiving my goods, and then when I got them I discovered that they did not have everything in there, and then it was damaged. And when I asked them, they said they didn't have anything to do with it, and it was out of their hands.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to know whether you mean to make a charge on the record against the personnel of this committee, because if you do I want it made very clear on the record that that is your charge, and your basis for it is whatever you cite as your basis.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I would like for somebody to pay for the typewriters. I have already had them fixed, but I can get a receipt from the company that fixed them. It cost me \$25 to get them repaired.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you are charging that the personnel of this committee or someone for whom this committee is responsible did that damage; is that right?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you are making that charge on the basis of what you were told by the gentleman you identified as in charge of the customs at the bridge?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. What bridge is that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is the Ambassador Bridge between the United States and Canada.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know the name of that man?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But I know he is supposed to be the chief of customs.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you identify him by describing him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But I can get his name in Detroit.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you do that and supply it for the record, and the name of the man who made this charge?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And on the strength of whose statement you are making the charge.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let us go off the record for a minute.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Back on the record.

I want to run through a number of names of people we have reason to believe you knew in Cuba. And I will try to do this as speedily as possible.

Did you know one Jose Manuel Paula?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have heard the name, but I am not sure who he is. I cannot place him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Juan Rodriguez Sarninto?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Federico Otero Calero?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. All of these men are U.S. citizens who have been identified as top Communist agents operating under orders from the Cuban Government. Both Paula and Calero were active in the early stages of the operation in the founding of an extremely active cell to operate in the south Florida area.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know them from those names. The only thing about it is, many people who travel around the world use different names in different places.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Boris Ross?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know V. T. Lee?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Lee was in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee here in this country, wasn't he?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have any association with him in Cuba?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, only he visited Cuba, I think, for 2 or 3 days at one time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you see him while he was there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. He didn't bring you any money, did he?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Jacob Rosen, R-o-s-e-n.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know a John Ermil Freeman?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I don't think so. I don't remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know a Steve Montinot?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think I have met him twice, but I don't really know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. He and Jacob Rosen have both been identified by members of the Progressive Labor Movement. They both spent several months in Cuba. Montinot's visit down there was in 1963. He was one of the leaders of a group of students who traveled to Cuba.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Actually I met all of the students, but I didn't know them personally, a lot of them were just names.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Steve Baum?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I don't remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. He went to Cuba in 1964, and returned. He was a student at Florida State University. And as soon as he got back he organized a demonstration against the U.S. Government in South Vietnam.

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I don't remember them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Dennis Flood?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Erika Enzer?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever make a speech before the PLM cell in Miami?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you send them greetings or some kind of a message?



Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. So if they had a message—

Mr. WILLIAMS. If they had a message from me it did not come from me.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what I was about to say. If they had a purported message from you it was not a bona fide message from you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. It might have been something that you had written or said that was transmitted by somebody else without your knowledge?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Melvin Young?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; I can't place him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recall a Charles Gonzalez?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. An Armand Suarez?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Harold Wilson?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Melvin Young?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. There may have been some people who came there. Most all the Americans visited me when they came there, but I don't remember them because I didn't have any special interest in them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know John Balassa or his wife Frances Balassa?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know A. J. Muste?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Stanley Pred and his wife Eleanor?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever know William Epton?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever write for Challenge, the PLM publication in Harlem?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. In Peking did you live for a time at No. 1 Tai Chi Chang?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you move from there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I lived there—that was the last place I lived.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was the last place. What was the first place?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The first place was the Peking Hotel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever been employed by the Afro-American Newspapers?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But I have done articles for them.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is without pay, just as a matter of—

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they offered to pay me, but I didn't accept it, I just told them to give me a subscription.

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you a letter which you received from Moses Newson, the executive editor of Afro-American Newspapers, and ask you if you want to make any comment on it before I offer it for the record?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Some publications in the country after the U.S. Government had announced that they wanted to improve relations with China became interested in material directly from China, and from a nonpolitical or non-Communist source. So this is why they asked me to do just a straight article as to what was going on in China. And I did it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may this letter go in the record at this point? It is counsel's exhibit No. 3.

(The letter marked "Exhibit No. 3" follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 3

AFRO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS.

Baltimore, Md., April 8, 1969.

Mr. ROBERT F. WILLIAMS.

Peking,

People's Republic of China.

DEAR MR. WILLIAMS: I found your story interesting and we ran most of it as you will see by the enclosed copy.

As you requested, copies have been sent to William Powell in North Carolina.

As you know, newspaper editors seldom settle for anything, so I am wondering, if you plan to be there long enough, if we could get another story angled directly to the economic, scientific and industrial progress made by China.

Many Americans simply are not aware of the industrial fairs, etc., nor the growth and indeed, the independence of China which permits it to buy and make contributions and cooperative loans and so forth with other disadvantaged countries.

With the United States feeling more and more the political winds of changing toward a more flexible policy regarding China, it occurs to me that the people of this country have a long, long way to go before they fully understand the development of China as a major industrial power.

Also, while I do not know what discussions you might have had with other publications, please keep in mind that we here at the AFRO would like to be among the first to announce the date of your returning to the United States.

Even if you don't have the opportunity to do another story for us, I should appreciate hearing from you when possible.

The paper we have enclosed also has a story in it about your organization, the Republic of New Africa.

I suppose you already have read something about the case, but some of what our reporter had may be new.

Hope to hear from you before too long.

Very truly yours,

MOSES J. NEWSON,

Executive Editor.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had a good success in getting newspapers in the United States to carry your statements and releases, didn't you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. They were carried pretty widely.

Your diary entries shortly after your arrival in Peking in July 1966 contain several references to visits from a Sidney. Who was Sidney?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was an American named Sidney Rittenberg.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was he, and what did he do?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Actually he was an English "polisher." He was married to a Chinese, and he had been there since the Second World War. He was a soldier that didn't come home after the World War.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is an interesting phrase, an English polisher. You mean literally he polished up the English of those who were learning English.

Mr. WILLIAMS. People who had written journalistic, literary material, and some things needed polishing for English to be sent abroad.



Because the Chinese may not quite understand correctly certain things, certain diction and words, and those people could polish the translation.

Mr. SOURWINE. It reminds of what a Soviet official was once quoted as having said about Owen Lattimore: "His great value to us is that he can write this thing in colloquial English without losing the essential radical element."

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is just about what it amounted to.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know this man Sidney Rittenberg well?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I didn't know him very well, but he was supposed to have been the guardian for my boys when I first went there.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was an English national?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He was supposed to have been from South Carolina.

Mr. SOURWINE. South Carolina. Is he still in China as far as you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know whether he is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was he working for the Chinese Government?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know. They say he was working for the U.S. Government.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was working for the U.S. Government in Peking?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. That is what he was charged with.

Mr. SOURWINE. What branch of the U.S. Government?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The CIA.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry of July 31, 1966 refers to canceling a dinner engagement with the American colony. Who did you mean by that term?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Americans who lived in Peking.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who were they?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, there were about 50-some, there were a large number. Some had been there for years before the revolution.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let us go off the record a moment.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Back on the record.

Is it agreeable with you, sir, if we leave this question hanging with the stipulation that when you correct the record you try to name as many of the members of the American colony as you can remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And identify them as best you can, from what you remember. Is that agreeable?

Mr. WILLIAMS. If I possibly could. It would be better if I didn't call names, because some of these people are suspect over there and some are having some problems, and they are all mixed up. And it is a different story altogether, which I do not think may be in the best interests of them and anybody really concerned.

Mr. CRAIG. May we explore that and find out what Mr. Williams means?

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the problem with the people over there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the first thing, I would be testifying against them, and the fact that they are there. Others are in trouble.

Mr. SOURWINE. You would be testifying against them because they are living in Peking?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That, and some are in trouble there. And it is better that their names not come out in Government publications of the U.S. Government. Some are in serious trouble. I know this, but you do not know it, and the Government does not know it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let us go off the record for a moment again.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Back on the record.

This is something on which I feel I must press you somewhat, since one of the things we hope to learn from you is the benefit of as many as we can learn about of the expatriot Americans in the American colony in Peking. I do not want to press you to the point of incriminating yourself in any manner. But I do not understand that you were engaged in any conspiracy with these people. You weren't, were you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But the problem is that it would incriminate me, because—my life is an open book, but I don't want to be branded as an informer. And also there may be some repercussions against me because of the fact of what I have said about somebody else.

Mr. SOURWINE. Sir, your counsel will advise you on the law. And I am not attempting to give you legal advice. But I want to state from the committee's standpoint and for the record that the committee ordinarily would not recognize a claim of fifth amendment privilege if you were attempting to make one based on your desire to protect somebody else. The fifth amendment is to protect you, and to protect you from being required, by your own words, to forge at least a link in a chain to connect you with a criminal prosecution. And unless you honestly fear that a truthful answer to the question is going to forge at least a link in a chain to connect you as an individual with a criminal prosecution, it would be this counsel's opinion that you do not have the right to claim the fifth amendment privilege.

You have not yet said that you were claiming it. And I do not mean to put words in your mouth. But, of course, as your counsel will tell us, you don't have to claim it in any particular words, you can assert it as your intention. I wish you would make it clear if it is your intention to claim it, and the area with respect to which you are claiming it.

Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Back on the record.

Mr. CRAIG. Would you read the question back, Mr. Reporter.

(The reporter read the question as requested.)

Mr. CRAIG. If the committee please, perhaps it would expedite the matter if the counsel for the committee, if counsel please, would present the direct question to Mr. Williams so that we may have the direct answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Williams, will you please tell the committee, the names of all the individuals you can recall as members of the American colony in Peking?

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. WILLIAMS. Sir, on this question I would like to plead the fifth amendment, on the advice of counsel, I would rather not answer, because this would tend to incriminate me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry of August 10 refers to riding 6 hours in a train to get to a summer resort. Where was that summer resort?



Mr. WILLIAMS. A place called Beithao. It was, I think, near the China Sea, the coastal place.

Mr. SOURWINE. The entry the following day, that is, August 11, referring to chatting with Anna Power and other Americans. Who was Anna Power?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was an American writer. She was with Anna Louise Strong.

Mr. SOURWINE. She was with Anna Louise Strong?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Maybe it was somebody who was visiting her. But I think that refers to Anna Louise Strong herself.

Mr. SOURWINE. You think Anna Power as you wrote the name referred to Anna Louise Strong?

Mr. WILLIAMS. You see, many of those names in my diary were kind of code names.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand. They were written for your own remembrance, and that is why we have to ask you.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Because of the fact also that I was going to bring my diary home, and I did not want it to be understood.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who were the other Americans at that summer resort?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I do not remember many Americans, but they had a lot of diplomats there. It was a resort where diplomats spent the summer, people from all over the world.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you saying that you do not remember the names of any of the other Americans you met there?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, Anna Louise Strong was the only one that I remembered. There were a few from New Zealand and Australia and other countries.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember the names of any of those people?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Anna Louise Strong living at this summer resort, or just visiting?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, she was just visiting there.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was your contact with her?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, actually we lived in the same building, the same house. And that was why I had contact with her.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you known her before?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. You didn't know her in Peking?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Oh, yes, because we lived in the same house in Peking, the same building.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what you mean, rather than in the same building, it is a summer resort?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry for September 15, 1966 refers to rewriting the national anthem. What national anthem did you rewrite?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was a poem, a parody about the national anthem, the U.S. national anthem.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that something you have published?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Only in the Crusader; it was published in our newsletter.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry for September 18 carries the name Bertha Hinton. Who was Bertha Hinton?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Bertha Hinton was a woman that worked in the foreign languages press. But I did not know too much about them, because I did not have that much contact. But a group of Americans would occasionally come by the house to see me, or I see them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that how you put it in your diary, that she was one of a group of Americans who came by to see you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Perhaps. I would have to see the context of it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not recall anything else about Bertha Hinton? Was she one of the Hintons of Vermont?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know where she came from.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know John Hinton?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Joan Hinton?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, I have heard of her.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not know her?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, but I have heard of her, and I have seen her.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know whether Bertha Hinton was a relation of Joan Hinton?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry October 4, 1966, contains an item "Canadian (Gratlinn) comes for lunch." Who was the Canadian Gratlinn?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was a Canadian who was visiting Peking. And he was touring Peking.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know his full name, sir?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, he was just introduced to me as Gratlinn. I suppose at the time they gave his real name, because the Canadians could come freely to China, there was no problem.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the purpose of his visit, do you remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Many people that came to China wanted to see me, because they had heard about me, and they wanted to hear what I had to say.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that the case with Mr. Gratlinn?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And he didn't come with a message or as an emissary from anywhere?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry of October 10 contains an item, "Trying to determine if Mabel really saw our old friend Norman Endicott from Canada." What did that mean?

Mr. WILLIAMS. This was a man named Norman Endicott who was working in the World Peace Council. He was a preacher from Canada. And she thought she had seen him in a hotel, in the dining room, but she wasn't sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you never found out if it was him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; we didn't find out.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did somebody find out?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, some people said he had been there, but we didn't know, we hadn't seen him.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never saw him again?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.



Mr. SOURWINE. Under date of October 17 your diary contains the item "Head of Australian Marxist-Leninist Party and wife come by for a language talk." Who was that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was a man named—I cannot think of his name, he is very well known, there is nothing secret or anything.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he the head of the Communist Party of Australia?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what you meant by the Marxist-Leninist Party?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they are split up, the different parties. Some call themselves Marxist-Leninists. Those are usually the ones that are more revolutionary, and they are more sympathetic toward China. And the others are more sympathetic toward the Soviet Union.

Mr. SOURWINE. You cannot recall this man's name?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that your first meeting with him in October 1966?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. I had seen him on the platform on national day, when they have visitors from other countries.

Mr. SOURWINE. There is an Australian newspaperman who has made quite a name for himself in Far Eastern nations, including Communist China. Did you know him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Wilfred Burchett. I only met him once.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the occasion of meeting with Burchett?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He was passing through Peking, because he was living, I think, in Cambodia. And when he came through, he had found out I was there, and he wanted to talk to me, just to talk about conditions in Vietnam, and in Cambodia.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him as having been an agent for Mao, for Ho Chi Minh, and for the KGB?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Or for any of the three?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I have never known him as that.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not know he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But I felt that he was a leftist, because he wrote for leftist publications.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary of October 20, 1966 contains the item "Dave Dellinger comes by." Who was Dave Dellinger?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He was a man who was going to Hanoi, he was in the peace movement, a pacifist.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you known him before?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Once in New York I debated him. And I think that was probably in 1959.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the occasion of his visit in October 1966?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Dave Dellinger's visit?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, what did he come to see you for?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Only that he was passing through, and he just wanted to see me, because I was an American.

Mr. SOURWINE. No particular purpose?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. In your diary on December 24 you wrote "Mr. and Mrs. Adler came by for lunch and listened to tapes." Who were Mr. and Mrs. Adler?

Mr. WILLIAMS. They were from Britain, they were British people.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are sure?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you are sure it did not refer to Solomon Adler?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know. It could have been.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Solomon Adler?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; I have heard of him. But I understand that he is a British citizen, not American.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did he become a British citizen?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know, but that is what he told me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't he used to be a representative of the U.S. Treasury?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. You don't know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was your own connection with Mr. and Mrs. Adler?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Nothing, except that he came by and listened to American music. I had quite a collection of American music.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what you meant by tapes, music tapes?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this the only occasion on which they came, or did they make several visits to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I saw them at Christmas time also.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you do not recall Mr. Adler's first name do you recall Mrs. Adler's first name?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know, because I understand that his wife had died just before I had gotten there, and he had married again. And she was a British woman, and she even had a British accent.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you think his name was Solomon Adler?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It could be. But the only thing I knew was Adler, because in China usually they use the last name, and they will say Comrade Adler.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was introduced to you as comrade. Then you knew him as a Communist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they call everybody comrade, they even called me comrade.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a Communist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; I didn't know him as a Communist. He worked in the Foreign Language Press, or some place, I think.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary of April 27, 1967, refers to a visit from Felix Green, who had just returned from Vietnam. Who is Felix Green?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I think he is British. I know he was coming through there. He had been to Vietnam, he had done a film on Vietnam. And he is a writer. He had done a series of books.

Mr. SOURWINE. He is a Chinese Communist propagandist, isn't he?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't want to put words in your mouth. You did not know that he had introduced Red Chinese propaganda films into the United States?



Mr. WILLIAMS. I knew he was making a film, or had made one in Vietnam. But I didn't know he had made a Chinese film. But he told me when he was coming through there that he had made a film in Vietnam.

Mr. SOURWINE. This same entry in your diary refers to writing for Felix Green's tape to the United States. What tape were you referring to?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He was telling me about different tapes, of trying to get tapes, that they did have tapes in the United States on the movement, and different speeches.

Mr. SOURWINE. What movement?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The black movement, the black people.

Mr. SOURWINE. He had a tape on that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He was telling me about people in the United States that did have films of speeches, because I was telling him how I would like to keep up with what was going on in the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you give him any information or material depicting the situation in the United States?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I remember that I discussed the race issue with him, and how bad it was, and that I expected it to get worse.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Felix Green was a Communist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry of May 6, 1967, indicates you went to the Hotel Peking to see a person named Sali, of Tanzania. Who was Sali?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was the junior Minister of Finance.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of Tanzania?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And he visited you in Peking?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I know him. He didn't come just to visit me. He was visiting China on government business from Tanzania.

Mr. SOURWINE. But his visit to you was personal?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary of May 31, 1967, contains an item "Go to film studio to watch revision of RW in China." What studio was that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, it was a Chinese Government film studio, documentary, they had made a film of my travels.

Mr. SOURWINE. RW refers to you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was working on the film?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, Chinese technicians were working on it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry of June 8, 1967, contains the item "Sol Adler comes by." Now, that settles the question whether it was Solomon Adler, doesn't it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Probably so, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. At least you know him as Sol Adler, and you didn't know he had ever been connected with the U.S. Treasury?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; because I didn't really know him.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you didn't know him as a Communist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry of June 9 contains the item, "Short notice to appear for meeting with Mao. Discover it's just a matter of

photographing A. A. Writers' Seminar. Tricks and manipulations B. S." I do not want to ask you to translate anything that might corrupt this record, but generally speaking, and in the King's English, what did that mean?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they had the journalists, Association of Journalists.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the A. A. Writers' Seminar?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, it was Afro-Asian. They had a lot of people who were writers and journalists. And they had these seminars all the time to discuss world conditions, and I called it b—— s——.

Mr. SOURWINE. A liberal translation of that might be something like baloney?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you have a diary entry of June 17, 1967, with a reference to going to Talitha's house. Who was Talitha?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was a woman from Shanghai, I think, China, who was visiting there. And they worked, I think, with the Chinese welfare department.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that Talitha Gerlach?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It could have been, I think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. And where is she working, or was working at that time?

Mr. WILLIAMS. With the welfare, Chinese welfare, some type of things that had been the YWCA, had been a Christian organization.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it a Government agency or organization?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think the Government was taking it over, or something, but it had belonged to the church.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was your connection with her? You went to her house, just a party?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. You see, people abroad are always glad to see Americans, especially people who speak the same language, even though they may not—politically they may not be the same, but if somebody has been out of the country for many years, they are always glad to see somebody who has been there since they left.

Mr. SOURWINE. If they speak the same language politically that helps too, doesn't it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That helps, but most of the time they are not even interested in that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Whom did you meet at Talitha Gerlach's house?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't remember. I met a group of Chinese that she worked with.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry of June 17, 1967, refers to your anger at efforts "on the part of Hank and the gang" to "get Afros in PLP for political training here." What was that all about?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That had to do with the Progressive Labor Party. I was having some problem with the Progressive Labor Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who were Hank and the gang?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Usually that was the code name of people who were in China.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am sure that is right, that is why I was asking you who they were.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I cannot tell you, because sometimes I don't know. These people were there, and some of the Chinese officials I used certain code names like that for.



Mr. SOURWINE. You know what you are telling me really in substance is, I put that in a code name to conceal it, and I can't tell you who it was, because I can't crack the code.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I know, but I have to read the whole context, because sometimes one code will lead to another, and then with them combined I will know who it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. You can't tell who it was that was trying to get Afros into the PLP for political training in China?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I know it was the Progressive Labor Party as a whole.

Mr. SOURWINE. That language did not refer to Mr. Henry, did it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Henry? No. Mr. Henry is not in the Progressive Labor Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. I didn't think he was. But Hank is an alliterative reference to Henry sometimes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. These were people who were politically opposed to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of course, Hank could also be O'Hara or something else.

Your diary entry of July 1 contains an item, "Clash with U.S. Marxist gang is imminent. Our party line P.S. on Afro-American struggle being purely class."

Can you explain this?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. That is primarily already explained, it is just the clash of belief, the fact that I was having trouble, it was coming to a showdown with Marxist-Leninists, because everyone felt that I should reflect this political line, and I wasn't going to do it.

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't think, if you will excuse me, sir, that this is clearly self-explanatory, because this says "our party line P.S. on Afro-American struggle being purely class." I don't know what you meant by our party line, but if it meant you, and your group, it is not your line that the Afro-American struggle is purely class, it is quite the contrary from your line, isn't it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But I would say that if I wanted to give a code that I thought might be that, I would say that. Because that was purely to throw anybody off who may see it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did this in fact refer to the pulling and hauling between the PLP people who are Communists, although labor oriented, and who feel that the race struggle, the Afro-American struggle should be a class struggle, and your own view, which is that it is a power struggle, until you get your rights you have not got any time for class? That is an over-simplification of your position, but can you accept it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I took the position that was largely a race struggle, which meant that the dominant class would be the whites who had the power, and that there would be no such thing as unity between the black workers and the white workers to overthrow the captive system, because it had to do with race.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was a race struggle and not a class struggle?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. So that you differed from the Communist PLP?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you have a diary entry of July 3, 1967, the item, "Visit Shirley Graham at Peking Hotel." Who is or was Shirley Graham?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, Shirley Graham is, I suppose, an Egyptian. She says she is Egyptian. She had citizenship in Ghana.

Mr. SOURWINE. It goes on to say that she is already suspicious of the Yanks. Who were the Yanks she was suspicious of, all Americans, or some particular group?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, there were some Americans who were associated or affiliated with Progressive Labor and different people.

Mr. SOURWINE. You cannot identify them any better than that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, because we always refer to them as a gang, rather than singling them out, because they weren't that well known.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your term "Yanks," then is another code name?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, because we spoke of the Communists, we always spoke of, at least I did, the white Communists as Yanks, because they were Yankees, that was the code.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entries of July 12 and 13, 1967, both refer to a guy from Dahomey, and contain the entries "Very suspicious of him," and "He is from U.S.S.R." Does this refresh your memory? Can you explain what this is about?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He was from Dahomey, an African who came there and asked for an appointment with me. He had been an attorney in the Soviet Union. And I couldn't quite understand what his interest was.

Mr. SOURWINE. On July 14 your diary entry reported you were flabbergasted by the news that "F. Coe witnessed H-Bomb, and Mort Scheer of PL is here." Does that F. Coe refer to Virginius Frank Coe?

Mr. WILLIAMS. These were rumors, all of these rumors circulating around Peking that were never verified.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question is whether the F. Coe you have mentioned is Virginius Frank Coe, sometimes known as Frank V. Coe?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I know he was from Virginia—

Mr. SOURWINE. I didn't say he was from Virginia. This is a man whose name is Virginius Frank Coe. He is also known sometimes as Frank V. Coe. He once held a very important position in the U.S. Treasury Department, and he was a high official of the World Bank, and he may have worked for the Monetary Fund at one time. Is this the man you referred to as F. Coe?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I suppose it is, because he was in China, and as an American.

Mr. SOURWINE. What H-bomb did he witness, or was he reported to have witnessed?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was just a rumor that turned out to be false in the end.

Mr. SOURWINE. There was no Red Chinese H-bomb in July of 1967?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; but he did not witness it.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. Do you remember from whom you heard that he had witnessed it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No; some foreigners who were there, and some Africans and Asians, had said that they thought he had been a witness to this.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not see Coe yourself?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, was it true that Mort Scheer of PL was in China, or was that also a false alarm?



Mr. WILLIAMS. I never did find out, because I didn't see him, I never saw him there.

Mr. SOURWINE. That PL, when you say Mort Scheer of PL, that meant Progressive Labor?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry for July 15, 1967, contains a memorandum: "It is terrifying to think of the white man and the Zionist foothold here. China is wide open for white Yankees and closed to the brothers." I gather from what you told us that since white Yankees meant the Communists, the PLP people, you were saying China is wide open for white Communists but it is closed to black people who are not Communists.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That referred to the upheaval of the cultural revolution. At one time Americans were very influential in China.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was your term Zionist a code word, or did it mean what it said?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It was a code word. It added to white nationalism, the fact that white nationalism transcended any religious lines, and it was worldwide.

Mr. SOURWINE. Speaking of white nationalism and black nationalism, what contact have you had with Stokely Carmichael?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, I have only met him once. I just met him briefly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you and he co-members of any organization as far as you know?

Mr. WILLIAMS. As far as I know, no. Because in the beginning I think he was at one time in SNCC. But he left SNCC and he went into some other organization. But I do not think—I don't know whether he was in the Republic of New Africa or not, he may have been, but I am not sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not see him while you were overseas anywhere, especially while you were in Africa?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry for July 21, 1967, refers to sending a cable to the black power conference in Newark. Can you recall anything about that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That was just a greeting. But the cable didn't arrive.

Mr. SOURWINE. The diary entry for July 26 has an item "African from Mali comes by for talk." Can you recall anything about that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Always many of the Africans used to just come by when they came into Peking. They would look me up and come by to talk to me about world problems and their problems in Africa and what should be done.

Mr. SOURWINE. There were an awful lot of people beating a path to your door—I mean no offense—for a man who was an expatriate and a long way from home.

Mr. WILLIAMS. They still do.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Americans were doing it, and the American Africans were doing it, and the American expatriates did it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. They still do.

Mr. SOURWINE. What are you, a catalyst?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But the problem is that a lot of people have problems. And they like to talk to people who are neither one thing nor another.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are a good listener, in other words?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. Also I was known not as a catalyst and not as a Communist, but I tried to go straight down the middle in looking at problems, and solving problems. And quite a number of people approached me always, it was just a constant stream of visitors who just wanted to see me and talk to me. They didn't always agree with me, but they still wanted to talk.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry of August 12, 1967, had an item with respect to a seminar on Mao's poems, and you said "Sid is there." Who was Sid?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, that was the man I was telling you was supposed to be the guardian for my children.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the Sidney that we referred to?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And there was nothing of particular importance about his being there, I suppose, but since he was the guardian of the children you noted that fact?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, also some people have started rumors that he was an agent of the CIA.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now we come to the diary entry for August 16, and it includes an item "P/C." Who is "P/C"?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I don't know. I would have to see that.

Mr. SOURWINE. That would be the Peace Committee? That is a P-slash-C.

Mr. WILLIAMS. It may be. It depends on the context.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then "Stokely is in town." Does that refer to Stokely Carmichael?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, he was passing through.

Mr. SOURWINE. It says, "Stokely comes by with Tanzanians from embassy." Did he come to see you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. He just briefly came by and spoke to me at my house.

Mr. SOURWINE. "He seems over-confident about whites." You did see him, then, on that one occasion at least while you were overseas, right?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. But he just came to my house in the presence of the Ambassador.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that the only occasion on which you met him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your diary entry on August 29, 1967, contains this item: "Leave seminar early today to meet Stokely Carmichael." Do you remember anything about that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes. Because they had told—when he was coming in he said he wanted to see me. So I left the seminar so I would be home when he came through. In fact, I went to the airport.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was that about, that meeting, do you recall?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. It was only a friendly meeting, because he was passing through.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let me read the rest of the note: "Meets woman either from Ceylon, CIA plot revealed. The same people I suspect." What was that all about? Does that refresh your memory?



Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, that was a woman foreigner.

Mr. SOURWINE. A foreigner from what country?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, she was Asian. I do not know exactly.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the meeting about?

Mr. WILLIAMS. It wasn't really a meeting, it was just the fact that she had wanted to talk to me, and there were a lot of rumors going around about the CIA having control of certain groups and people in China.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the CIA plot?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The CIA plot was to take over China.

Mr. SOURWINE. And who were the suspected people? You said the same people I suspected.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, they were people who were active in the cultural revolution.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, after that occasion on which you left the seminar early to meet Stokely Carmichael, was that the last time you saw him?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I saw him at the airport when he was leaving, when he came back through.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, your diary entry of August 30, 1967, says: "Stayed up all night talking to Shirley and Stokely."

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. That refers to Shirley who?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That refers to the Ghanaian, the woman from Ghana.

Mr. SOURWINE. I see. And Stokely meant Carmichael?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And what was the all-night talk about, if you remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, about Afro-Americans, about black people, and what was happening to our people in the States, and in Africa.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now your diary entry the next day, August 31, reports that you went down to talk to Anna Louise Strong, and that "she had the same feeling as I that Stokely is being used by Castro and the U.S.S.R."

What did you mean by that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, this was in reference to his attitude and his travels.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I just felt that he may have been sympathetic—he was sympathetic toward the Cubans, and had been to Cuba, after I had quite a few problems there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Being used by Castro and the U.S.S.R. meant you thought he was a Communist didn't you?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, I didn't think he was a Communist; no, I never thought he was a Communist.

Mr. SOURWINE. Being used by the Communists?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No. But the fact that he was invited to Cuba, after I found it necessary to leave, and it was——

Mr. SOURWINE. You had found racism in Cuba, as you told us, growing racism?

Mr. WILLIAMS. And people abroad, who are criticizing Cuba, and asking questions why I had left, because I was a black person from the United States. And Cuba needed somebody to fill this vacuum. And

they invited Stokely Carmichael, which did not necessarily mean that he was deliberately doing something.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand. But you said being used by Castro and the U.S.S.R.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, the U.S.S.R. supports Cuba.

Mr. SOURWINE. You meant he was being used by the Communists? Castro was a Communist, wasn't he?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the U.S.S.R. is Communist?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you didn't mean that, tell me what did you mean.

Mr. WILLIAMS. What I meant was that they used him to fill the vacuum. It didn't necessarily mean that he was engaged in any deliberate activity.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am not charging him with any deliberate activity, he could have been a dupe under your words.

Is that what you thought he was, a dupe?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I thought he was being duped by the Cubans.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the U.S.S.R.?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. One more question. Your diary entry of September 24, 1967, refers to writing letters to Cuba. To whom in Cuba were you writing, if you can remember?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Those were people who lived there who had been friends of mine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let us go off the record for a moment.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Back on the record.

We will conclude at this point for today, and come back at 9 o'clock in the morning in room 155 in the Old Building.

Thank you, gentlemen.

(Whereupon, at 4:50 p.m. the staff conference of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Committee on the Judiciary recessed, to reconvene the following morning, at 9 a.m. Wednesday, March 25.)



## APPENDIX

### EXHIBIT No. 38\*

#### BLACK AMERICA ARM YOURSELVES FOR A WAR OF SELF DEFENSE AND SURVIVAL

In recent years, the African-american people have been fortunate enough to have been represented internationally by two of the most outstanding Revolutionary Nationalist leaders of these times, the late Brother Malcolm X and Robert F. Williams. These men, acting on their own principles and integrity, have provided a truthful perspective and correct analysis of our problems to the Bandung (non-white) World. In both cases, each man was recognized by heads of state—Williams in Asia and Latin America, Malcolm in Africa—as spokesmen and leaders of people. In 1964, Brother Malcolm was invited to the Cairo conference of the O. A. U. (Organization of African Unity) where he delivered an inspiring appeal on behalf of our people. A year earlier (Aug. 8, 1963) Robert F. Williams was able to convince chairman Mao Tse-Tung, leader of the Chinese people, to speak out against racial injustice and oppression of our people by the U.S. government; the first time in our history that this has occurred. The African, Asian, and Latin American peoples had illustrated through their actions that they recognized our two brothers as Due-Prime Ministers of a provisional African-American Government in exile!

Earlier this year, we were dealt a severe blow by White American colonialism. Brother Malcolm was brutally assassinated before our very eyes. Though black men were instruments, there can be no doubt about the source of this vile crime; the racist C. I. A., F. B. I. and local police, acting under orders of the U.S. State Department.

Now many brothers and sisters have been observed saying: "They've killed Malcolm! All is lost; we have no one else to lead us." This is incorrect. The Racist Beast only killed One of our Prime Ministers; the other—Williams—is functioning as effectively and efficiently as ever—all over the world. Unfortunately, due to the nature of his circumstances (exile), there has been less publicity about his actions by the white press, which most of our people read. Brother Malcolm was highly publicized because sensationalized stories about him brought immediate profit into the greedy hands of the racists. What we Must Realize is that exile in itself does not curb the usefulness of a revolutionary leader. In all revolutions and national liberation struggles of the past, there have been periods when the leaders were in exile. There was the Cuban struggle when Fidel Castro and his colleagues were in the U.S. and Mexico, the Russian Revolution when Lenin was in Europe, the Kenya struggle when Jomo Kenyatta was banished from his people for a number of years. Countless other examples could be cited . . . In order to combat this lack of information on Robert F. Williams, the editorial committee has decided to publish this special pamphlet about his actions, past and present, and history of leadership.

In his historic actions in Monroe, N.C. (where he successfully organized and defended our people against the racist Ku Klux Klan), Williams set a trend which is being currently acted out by the Southern Black struggle. Such as the "Deacons for Defense" are the agents of history, absolving Robert Williams, by acting out his earlier concept of self-defense. Events are proving that Brother Rob had a correct position when he stated that our people will arm to survive racist terrorism: "Let us meet violence with violence" . . . "The Afro-American will fight back for survival."

Brother Rob's actions in Monroe, N.C., and the current self-defense methods used by the Black South show the need for the formation of a Black Liberation Army (BLA) in White America—geared for defense and justice for African-Americans. It is our opinion that events will force our people to form such an organization in order to survive.

\*See p. 81 for discussion of this document.

In returning to the current actions of Brother Robert Williams, we find that he has worked tirelessly on our behalf. In his speeches and writings, he has clarified and correctly analysed our position to our "Bandung (non-white) Brothers. His weekly broadcasts from Havana, Cuba over "Radio Free Dixie" are beaming rays of sunlight into the racist Southern hell. Brother Rob, in his speeches, writings, and broadcasts to our people, has set the atmosphere for the creation of a black anti-racist, anti-imperialist movement of national liberation from White America: a Black Liberation Front with a provisional government in exile. His international conferences and negotiations with Bandung heads of state has placed him in the functioning position of Premier of a provisional African-American Government in Exile and Chairman of the African-American Party of National Liberation (APNL).

Last year when Brother Malcolm went to Cairo, he went as representative of the "Organization of Afro-American Unity" (OAAU). The African brothers recognized him and his organization as part of a broad united front in our liberation struggle. Now, when Brother Rob was traveling in Asia and Latin America, he also went as a leader of a Revolutionary Nationalist organization which is part of the broad front in our struggle. Robert F. Williams is Chairman in Exile of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). R.A.M. is an organization which is geared towards Black Liberation By Any Means Necessary. Via its history of struggle, and through its theoretical journal, Black America, R.A.M. has been instrumental in developing the militant philosophy of Revolutionary Nationalism or Bandung Anti-imperialism as applies to the particular conditions and experiences of the African-American people. R.A.M. has been highly influential in developing the thinking of an increasing number of black students and youth through its contacts with youth organizations such as the Afro-American Student Movement" (ASM). In May, 1964, and later in November, 1964, the A.S.M. conference held in Nashville, Tenn., brought together youth from such diverse movement as the Civil Rights, Cultural Anati and Black Radical. These youth exchanged ideas, discussed our people's problems our relationship to the Bandung (Dark) World, and were introduced to and greatly influenced by the concept of Revolutionary Nationalism. Both conferences pledged open support of and solidarity with the former colonial peoples. The A.S.M. is currently active on the Black campuses of this country.

This editorial has been a brief attempt to capsuleize the political significance of Brother Robert F. Williams, his work and organization to our African-American liberation struggle. We, the editorial committee, exhort our people to lift up their heads and their hearts to the Sun of total Liberation rising above the prison walls of White America. Brother Malcolm is not "dead"! He Lives on in his brother, Robert F. Williams, in our militant youth, he lives on in each of us! Have courage; continue to fight on in his name, for as surely as Sam Cooke sang:

Change is gonna' come!

[Reprinted from West Indian Gazette and Afro-Asian Caribbean News]

#### THE MONROE KIDNAPPING

(By Julian Mayfield)

From June 18th when Robert and Mabel Williams and a group of Monroe youths began to picket the municipal swimming pool, until August 25th, Monroe was clearly news that was fit to print. Almost daily, there was vast violence between the races that was brought to the attention of the police and the press.

Yet, with one or two notable exceptions, no newspaper, radio or television station reported the occurrences, much less tried to interpret them.

#### CITIZENS FIRE BACK AT KLAN

Those of us who were "with" the story were soon convinced that there was a news blackout around Monroe because of widespread editorial antipathy to Williams, his advocating that black men should defend themselves against racist violence with violence, and his sympathy with the Cuban revolution.

It is foolish for anyone to question why Williams fled North Carolina. Anyone remotely familiar with the ways of southern justice knows that Williams or any



other militant black man stands absolutely no chance of receiving a fair hearing in a court with a white judge, a white jury and testifying white policemen. It is thought that Williams had fled to the north. If this is true he is only following a tradition set by countless thousands of other black men throughout American history. (Williams fled to Cuba.)

Nevertheless, it is important that events of August 26th and 27th be set down for the record. All of the events I am about to describe, I witnessed personally or heard described almost immediately after they occurred. Most of the newspaper reports have been based solely on the prejudiced tales of Chief of Police Mauney and Mayor Fred Wilson.

For example, the "kidnapping" as described in the newspapers never took place. The Russian weapons that were reported to have been found in the Crowder house—the ones that were described so meaningfully in the newspapers—can be bought by any reporter who will take the trouble to go to a gun shop or even large hardware store in North Carolina or New York.

And why have not whites been arrested for inciting to riot? I saw them waving rifles and passing around boxes of ammunition in the area of the courthouse in full view of the police on Saturday, August 26th. Why haven't the police arrested the white men who shot Edward Bromberg with a high-powered rifle on August 24th? Why haven't the police arrested Bynum Griffin who tried to kill Williams on June 23rd while highway patrolmen watched and laughed? Why haven't they arrested Carol Presley who also tried to kill him with a car on June 24th?

The truth is that Monroe justice is Southern justice, a fact that is plain enough, even for the President, but a fact he seems determined to ignore.

#### "OPEN SEASON"

All during the week preceding August 26th, there had been scattered violence on and near the picket line that the Freedom Riders and local Afro-American youths had set up around the courthouse and the dental office of Mayor Fred Wilson.

The police had barely kept up the show of equal protection, arresting the Freedom Riders and local coloured youths for the slightest—or imaginary—infraction of the law. On Saturday several thousand whites, many of them identifiable Klansmen from South Carolina milled about the town.

One car I saw carried a sign which read "*Coon Season Open.*" "*Coon*" is a white term for a black person. Because there were not enough cars to accommodate all of the marchers, it was decided that they would walk back to Newton, the black section. As they marched, they sang "*We Shall Not Be Moved.*"

From my car I saw them heckled and harassed by several cars of white men in full view of the Monroe police. One car attempted to force mine off the road, with men yelling: "*Hey, New York nigger, what are you doing down here?*"

They desisted when I gave them reason to believe I was armed. The Freedom Riders and black youth of Monroe were not daunted by the harassment, but continued singing. As the column crossed into Newton, fighting erupted and at least a dozen white men were beaten and driven from the area.

The Freedom Riders and their coloured supporters continued their singing until they arrived at the house which had been rented for them and christened "*Freedom House.*"

The next day, Sunday, against Williams' advice the Freedom Riders decided to picket the courthouse again. There was even some talk of "*sittin-in*" at the local white churches. As the day wore on, local Negroes passing through town reported to us that there were more county whites in town than they had ever seen before, and that their mood indicated trouble.

Bruised and beaten Freedom Marchers, both black and white, and blacks who had nothing to do with the picketing, stumbled back into Newton to relate how they had been set upon by mobs of angry whites, nearly always in full view of policemen.

At about 4 o'clock I received a call in Williams' house from James Farmer, one of the picket captains, requesting us to send four cars at 5 o'clock to remove the pickets. He too confirmed the ugly mood of the whites and complained about the lack of police protection. (That was the last time that I spoke with him. An hour later he was in the hospital being stitched for a wound in his head.) At 4:30 the Negro taxi company reported that the Monroe Police had blocked every entrance into the town and that they could not, as they had been doing all week, go to pick up the picketers.

Just then several cars (including my own, driven by a man I did not know) sped up in front of the Williams' house and men piled out reporting that the whites in the town seemed to have gone mad.

A Negro woman with a baby had been beaten to the ground. Several shots had been fired. The town was in the grip of a full-scale riot. All of the Freedom Riders had been arrested. (Some of these stories I learned later were exaggerated.)

Several of us jumped into cars and sped towards the centre of Monroe with the hope of rescuing as many of our people as possible.

But as we drew within seeing distance of the jailhouse, we were blocked by a traffic jam. Two cars of Monroe coloured men raced toward us from the town. They yelled at us that the police were disarming all the Negroes they encountered on the road. As we turned our car around I saw a line of white men, some in police uniforms, firing downhill into where freight cars were standing. I saw black men scrambling between the cars to avoid the bullets. We waited for them and pulled them into the cars before we sped back into the coloured district.

#### SELF-DEFENSE: THE WILL TO VISIBLY RESIST

From this moment on, the events multiplied with lightning rapidity. Crowds of Afro-Americans, most of them no active followers of Williams, began to crowd into the area. They grew angrier as they heard what had happened in town. Nearly all the men who had escaped from town had been stoned or beaten. They had exchanged fire with the whites, and a policeman was reported to have been shot. No one was quite sure whether a black or white person had shot him.

It should be emphasized that during the entire afternoon Williams had not left his home. (Nor had Mae Mallory). By agreement with the Freedom Riders he had not participated in their picketing because of differing views on the effectiveness of passive resistance. Nor were they in any way under his direction. The extent of his involvement was that on the previous Monday, he had asked people of Newton to support the Freedom Riders with contributions of money, food and living accommodations, and the community, especially the rural people, had responded generously.

Rural Negroes began to pour into the area begging for guns with which to defend themselves. Soon the crowd had grown to more than 150 persons. Most of us were especially concerned for Woodrow Wilson and Javan Leeds, who had been arrested. Both were known as militant black men and the Negroes had reason to believe they would be killed if they were left in jail overnight.

At this point, a highway patrolman drove into Boyte Street and stopped before Williams' house. He advised Williams to surrender his arms. Williams replied that he had broken no law and that he had no intention of committing suicide by disarming. He pointed out that he had every right to defend his home, and that was what he intended to do.

#### THE KIDNAPPING

By now the black crowd was in a snarling mood. The most timid of them could no longer doubt that the law had broken down. They had no idea what had happened to the blacks and the whites who were still trapped in town. Occasionally shots could be heard in the distance. The crowd began to shout to Williams to hold the highway patrolman until the people in town were released. Others wanted to kill the officer on the spot. With a show of anger, Williams dissuaded the crowd and urged the patrolman to leave, which he did. Williams returned to his house to call Chief Mauney at his station.

A few seconds later, a car carrying a middle aged white couple turned into the block. From a distance of about 150 feet, I saw the crowd surge in on the car and order the man out. The noise must have attracted Williams, for he emerged from his house with a puzzled expression on his face. They had already been brought into the yard in the front. "Kill him! Kill him!" the crowd shouted. Williams argued loudly that the couple should be set free, that the blame for anything that happened that day would certainly be placed on him. A woman I did not know shouted, "If you turn them loose, we'll kill you and them."

(The reader will wonder what possessed the couple to turn into Boyte Street in the first place. For weeks whites in Monroe had been accustomed to turn into the block hoping to get a look at the curious black man they had heard so much about.) For their own safety, Williams explained, it would be better if they came into his house.



## THE MONROE CASE: CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE NEGRO

Just as the couple started into the house, a small private airplane swooped low over the area and several of the armed men tried to drive it off with rifle fire. The woman was visibly frightened. Immediately afterwards I left the area and did not see either Williams or the others again. An hour later I heard heavy shooting from the section where Williams lived. A few minutes later I received a telephone call from Williams telling me his area was surrounded by state troopers and advising me to leave Monroe so that someone would be free to write the story. I took his advice and left immediately.

## "AIRTIGHT CASE"

In their efforts to establish an airtight case around Williams and the most militant youth of Monroe, the officials have succeeded, with the co-operation of the press, in convincing unwary readers that Williams and his followers were out looking for hostages, that they stopped the couple at a point some distance from his house and drove them into Newtown.

The fact is that the couple were stopped by a mob—not of Williams followers—less than 200 feet from Williams' house. The crowd was not following Williams' orders, and the couple had been brought to Williams' yard before Williams knew the couple had been stopped. They were not forced into the Williams' house but went in voluntarily after sensing the mood of the crowd and after they were convinced that if they left, the enraged Negroes would attack them.

I have read that the couple was bound and gagged, but I doubt if this is true. Both the man and the woman were frightened and harmless and neither seemed foolish enough to attempt to flee through the angry crowd.

## INDICTMENTS

To the best of my knowledge, none of the youths now indicted for the "kidnapping" had anything to do with stopping the car. The Freedom Rider, a young white man from New York, was standing near the car after the couple had left it. When someone yelled: "Get the car off the street" he stepped into it and drove it to the side. So far as I know that was his only involvement in the so-called crime.

In one sense, the forces of white supremacy have won a major battle. The man they hated and feared most has been branded a fugitive from "justice". His closest supporters are either in jail or at large, fleeing whatever indictments the Union County Grand Jury, all white, can think of to rid the town of militant black leaders. The personal tragedy is that at least three youths will almost certainly be sentenced to long prison terms, guilty of no crime but idealism, the belief that they could make this country a better place in which to live.

## THE RESISTANT SPIRIT: WHY DO I SPEAK FROM EXILE?

Because a Negro community in the South took up guns in self-defense against racist violence—and used them, I am held responsible for this action, that for the first time in history American Negroes have armed themselves as a group, to defend their homes, their wives, their children, in a situation where law and order had broken down, where the authorities could not, or rather would not, enforce their duty to protect Americans from a lawless mob. I accept this responsibility and am proud of it. I have asserted the right of Negroes to meet the violence of the Ku Klux Klan by armed self-defense—and have acted on it. It had always been an accepted right of Americans, as the history of our Western states proves, that where the law is unable, or, unwilling, to enforce order, the citizens can, and must, act in self-defense against lawless violence. I believe this right holds for black Americans as well as whites.

Many people will remember that in the summer of 1957 the Ku Klux Klan made an armed raid on an Indian community in the South and were met with determined rifle fire from the Indians acting in self-defense. The nation approved of the action and there were widespread expressions of pleasure at the defeat of the Kluxers, who showed their courage by running away despite their armed superiority. What the nation doesn't know, because it has never been told, is that the Negro community in Monroe, North Carolina, had set the example two weeks before when we shot up an armed motorcade of the Ku Klux Klan, in-

cluding two police cars, which had come to attack the home of Dr. Albert E. Perry, vice president of the Monroe chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The stand taken by our chapter resulted in the official re-affirmation by the NAACP of the right of self-defense. The Preamble to the resolution of the 50th Convention of the NAACP, New York City, July 1959, states: "...we do not deny, but reaffirm, the right of an individual and collective self-defense against unlawful assaults."

Because there has been much distortion of my position, I wish to make it clear that I do not advocate violence for its own sake, or for the sake of reprisals against whites. Nor am I against the passive resistance advocated by the Reverend Martin Luther King and others. My only difference with Dr. King is that I believe in flexibility in the freedom struggle. This means that I believe in non-violent tactics where feasible and the mere fact that I have a Sit-In case pending before the U.S. Supreme Court bears this out.

Massive civil disobedience is a powerful weapon under civilized conditions, where the law safeguards the citizens' right of peaceful demonstrations. In civilized society the law serves as a deterrent against lawless forces that would destroy the democratic process. But where there is a breakdown of the law, the individual citizen has a right to protect his person, his family, his home and his property. To me this is so simple and proper that it is self-evident.

When an oppressed people show a willingness to defend themselves, the enemy, who is a moral weakling and coward is more willing to grant concessions and work for a respectable compromise. Psychologically, moreover, racists consider themselves superior beings and they are not willing to exchange their superior lives for our inferior ones. They are most vicious and violent when they can practice violence with impunity. This we have shown in Monroe. Moreover, when because of our self-defense there is a danger that the blood of whites may be spilled, the local authorities in the South suddenly enforce law and order when previously they had been complaisant toward lawless, racist violence. This too we have proven in Monroe. It is remarkable how easily and quickly state and local police control and disperse lawless mobs when the Negro is ready to defend himself with arms.

Furthermore, because of the international situation, the Federal Government does not want racial incidents which draw the attention of the world to the situation in the South. Negro self-defense draws such attention, and the Federal Government will be more willing to enforce law and order if the local authorities don't. When our people become fighters, our leaders will be able to sit at the conference table as equals, not dependent on the whim and the generosity of the oppressors. It will be to the best interests of both sides to negotiate just, honorable and lasting settlements.

The majority of white people in the United States have literally no idea of the violence with which Negroes in the South are treated daily—nay, hourly. This violence is deliberate, conscious, condoned by the authorities. It has gone on for centuries and is going on today, every day, unceasing and unrelenting. It is our way of life. Negro existence in the South has been one long travail, steeped in terror and blood—our blood. The incidents which took place in Monroe, which I witnessed and which I suffered, will give some idea of the conditions in the South, such conditions that can no longer be borne.

#### SELF-DEFENSE PREVENTS BLOODSHED

That is why, one hundred years after the Civil War began we Negroes in Monroe armed ourselves in self-defense and used our weapons. We showed that our policy worked. The lawful authorities of Monroe and North Carolina acted to enforce order only after, and as a direct result of, our being armed. Previously they had connived with the Ku Klux Klan in the racist violence against our people. Self-defense prevented bloodshed and forced the law to establish order. This is the meaning of Monroe and I believe it marks a historic change in the life of my people.

#### ON THE ULTRA RIGHT

[From the New York World-Telegram and Sun, July 23, 1965]

#### HITLER WAS RIGHT

How many hours a week the right-wing spokesmen occupy the air waves with their propaganda?



(Over 10,000 such broadcasts a week take up more than 2,500 hours of radio and television time.)

What's happened to the revenues of the John Birch Society in the past year?

(In 1964 they doubled, to \$3.2 million. In 1965 they are expected to reach over \$6 million. They are trying to raise \$12 million for the 1966 Congressional elections.)

About the secret, private armies, equipped with rifles, machine guns, mortars, hand grenades and other weapons that regularly meet and drill?

(Just recently a cache of arms and a secret drill ground of the Minutemen, a group preparing for guerrilla warfare, was disclosed less than 50 miles from Washington, D.C.)

What "respectable" organizations serve as fronts for organizations like the John Birch Society and similar groups?

(The "interlocking directorates" of right-wing organizations are complex. For instance, the John Birch Society urges members to organize groups under the banner of "support your local police" and sponsors about 200 "American Opinion Libraries.")

#### DO YOU KNOW . . .

Minute Men have been arming and training with heavy weapons in the field. What is the reason for this? Why has this been tolerated in the United States? The Minute Men say that they are mobilizing to fight Communism or possible invasion of the United States by the Communists. Wouldn't an American be naive indeed to believe that if the United States Marine Corps, and the Infantry, and the Navy, and the Air Force couldn't stop some sort of invasion, how in the hell could a few old women in tennis shoes from the John Birch Society and their corps of Minute Men stop them?

No. Anyone who can think logically can see that the racist Minute Men are being armed and prepared for pogroms. They are becoming a fascist vanguard that will some day be turned loose on all Afro-Americans and white Americans who get out of line. And to get out of line means to petition militantly for Constitutional rights. These Minute Men types will be the people who do the dirty work. Just as there were special units to man the gas furnaces for the Jewish people in Nazi Germany, so "special units" will develop to handle "trouble-makers" in a fascist America. This must be done outside of the jurisdiction of the armed forces because the U.S. Armed Services are integrated. It will be like the French and the O.A.S. in Algeria. They will look the other way, like the Wehrmacht and the S.S. corps in Hitler's time. The Armed Services of the United States, the police officials, the Justice Department will look the other way and they will say, "We're sorry, but we can't catch these people. We're sorry, but we've done everything we can do to prevent violence." The Minute Men have pure, 100 per cent, all-American weapons and the newspapers have barely found cause to denounce their activities.

The stranglehold of oppression cannot be loosened by a plea to the oppressor's conscience. Social change in something as fundamental as racist oppression involves violence.

You cannot have progress here without violence and upheaval, because it's struggle for survival for one and a struggle for liberation for the other. Always the powers in command are ruthless and unmerciful in defending their position and their privileges. This is not an abstract rule to be meditated upon by Americans. This is a truth that was revealed at the birth of America, and has continued to be revealed many times in our history. The principle of self-defense is an American tradition that began at Lexington and Concord.

#### MINDS WARPED BY RACISM

We have come to comprehend the nature of racism. It is a mass psychosis. When I've described racial conditions in the United States to audiences of foreign newsmen, Cubans and other Latin Americans, they have been shocked to learn of the depths of American race hatred. When I have cited as illustrations such extreme situations as the segregation of telephone party-lines in Union County, or the segregated pet-animal cemetery in Washington, D.C., where an Afro-American cannot bury his dog, they find such things comic as well as pathetic.

Such extreme examples of the racist mentality only appear comic when looked upon as isolated phenomena. In truth they are perfectly logical applications of the premises that make up the racist mentality. Look at the phenomena this way

and they are logical inventions of a thoroughly diseased mind. The racist is a man crazed by hysteria at the idea of coming into equal human contact with Negroes. And this mass mental illness called racism is very much a part of the "American Way of Life."

When Afro-American liberation is finally achieved in the U.S.A., one of the many new developments in such a society will be some sort of institution that will correct those Americans whose minds are thoroughly warped by racism. Somehow a way will be found so that these insane people will be made whole, will be made well again.

#### THE MYTH OF EXTERMINATION

This fear of extermination is a myth which we've exposed in Monroe. We did this because we came to have an active understanding of the racist system and we grasped the relationship between violence and racism. The existence of violence is at the very heart of a racist system. The Afro-American militant is a "militant" because he defends himself, his family, his home, and his dignity. He does not introduce violence into a racist social system—the violence is already there, and has always been there. It is precisely this unchallenged violence that allows a racist social system to perpetuate itself. When people say that they are opposed to Negroes "resorting to violence" what they really mean is that they are opposed to Negroes defending themselves and challenging the exclusive monopoly of violence practiced by white racists.

We have shown in Monroe that with violence working both ways constituted law will be more inclined to keep the peace.

When Afro-Americans resist and struggle for their rights they also possess a power greater than that generated by their will and their hands. With the world situation as it is today, the most racist and fascist United States government conceivable could not succeed in exterminating 20,000,000 people. We know there is a great power struggle going on in the world today, and the colored peoples control the true balance of power. We also know, from the statistics of the Detroit race riots, that production in this country would fall in forty-eight hours. People everywhere in the world would be ready to support our struggle.

#### "EVERY FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.A. IS LABELED 'COMMUNIST'"

I'm not a member of and I've never been a member of the Communist Party. But most decent-minded Americans should realize by now that every movement for freedom that is initiated in the United States; every movement for human dignity, for decency; every movement that seeks fairness and social justice; every movement for human rights, is branded as "Communist." Whenever a white person participates in a movement for black liberation, the movement automatically is branded as "under the domination of Moscow." I can't expect to be an exception.

This Communist thing is becoming an old standard. An old standard accusation now. Anyone who uncompromisingly opposes the racists, anyone who scorns the religious fanatics and the super-duper American conservatives is considered a Communist.

This sort of thing gives the Communists a lot of credit, because certainly many people in my movement in the South don't know what a Communist is. Most of our people have never even heard of Marx. When you say Marx some of the people would think that maybe you were talking about a fountain pen or a New York City cab driver. Or the movie comedians.

But people aspire to be free. People want to be liberated when they are oppressed. No matter where the leadership comes from. The enslavement and suppression of Negroes in the American South were going on before Karl Marx was born, and Negroes have been rebelling against their oppression before Marxism came into existence. As far back as the 16th century, and the beginning of the 17th century, Negroes were even rebelling on the slave ships. The history of American Negro slavery was marked by very many conspiracies and revolts on the part of Negroes.

Certainly the Marxists have participated in the human rights struggle of Negroes, but Negroes need not be told by any philosophy or by any political party that racial oppression is wrong. Racial oppression itself inspires the Negro to rebellion.

But there was no ingenuity that fear or a depraved imagination could devise which was not employed to break their spirit and satisfy the lusts and resentment of their owners and guardians—irons on the hands and feet, blocks of



wood that the slaves had to drag behind them wherever they went, the tin-plate mask designed to prevent the slaves eating the sugar-cane, the iron collar. Whipping was interrupted in order to pass a piece of hot wood on the buttocks of the victim; salt, pepper, citron, clinders, aloes, and hot ashes were poured on the bleeding wounds. Mutilations were common, limbs, ears, and sometimes the private parts, to deprive them of the pleasures which they could indulge in without expense. Their masters poured burning wax on their arms and hands and shoulders, emptied the boiling cane sugar over their heads, burned them alive, roasted them on slow fires, filled them with gunpowder and blew them up with a match; buried them up to the neck and smeared their heads with sugar that the flies might devour them; fastened them near to nests of ants or wasps; made them eat their excrement, drink their urine, and lick the saliva of other slaves. The torture of the collar was specially reserved for women who were suspected of abortion, and the collar never left their necks until they had produced a child.

#### NON-VIOLENCE AND SELF-DEFENSE

The tactics of non-violence will continue and should continue. We too believed in non-violence tactics in Monroe. We've used these tactics; we've used all tactics. But we also believe that any struggle for liberation should be a flexible struggle. We shouldn't take the attitude that one method alone is the way to liberation. This is to become dogmatic. This is to fall into the same sort of dogmatism practiced by some of the religious fanatics. We can't afford to develop this type of attitude. We must use non-violence as a means as long as this is feasible, but the day will come when conditions become so pronounced that non-violence will be suicidal in itself. The day is surely coming when we will see more violence on the same American scene. The day is surely coming when some of the same Negroes will have denounced our using weapons for self-defense will be arming themselves.

I would prefer to think of myself as an Inter-Nationalist. That is, I'm interested in the problems of all mankind. I'm interested in the problems of Africa, of Asia, and of Latin America. I believe that we all have the same struggle; a struggle for liberation. Discrimination and race hatred are undesirable, and I'm just as much against racial discrimination, in all forms, every place in the world, as I am against it in the United States.

What do we mean by "nationalism"? When you consider the present white American society it can be classified as nothing but a nationalistic society based on race. Yet as soon as an Afro-American speaks out for his people, and is conscious and proud of his people's historical roots and culture, he becomes a "nationalist." I don't mind these labels. I don't care what they call me. I believe in justice for all people. And because the Afro-American is the most exploited, the most oppressed in our society, I believe in working foremost for his liberation.

[Reprinted from Foreign Language Press, Peking]

#### STATEMENT CALLING ON THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD TO UNITE TO OPPOSE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION BY U.S. IMPERIALISM AND SUPPORT THE AMERICAN NEGROES IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

(By Mao Tse-Tung)

An American Negro leader now taking refuge in Cuba, Mr. Robert Williams, the former President of the Monroe, North Carolina, Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, has twice this year asked me for a statement in support of the American Negroes' struggle against racial discrimination. On behalf of the Chinese people, I wish to take this opportunity to express our resolute support for the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

There are more than 19 million Negroes in the United States, or about 11 per cent of the total population. They are enslaved, oppressed and discriminated against—such is their position in society. The overwhelming majority of the Negroes are deprived of their right to vote. In general, it is only the most back-breaking and despised jobs that are open to them. Their average wages are no more than a third or a half those of the white people. The ratio of unemployment among them is the highest. In many states they are forbidden to go to the same school, eat at the same table, or travel in the same section of a bus or train as the white people. Negroes are frequently and arbitrarily arrested, beaten

up and murdered by the U.S. authorities at various levels and by members of the Ku Klux Klan and other racists. About half of the American Negroes are concentrated in eleven states in the south of the United States, where the discrimination and persecution they suffer are especially shocking.

The American Negroes are awakening and their resistance is becoming stronger and stronger. In recent years there has been continuous expansion in the mass struggle of the American Negroes against racial discrimination and for freedom and equal rights.

In 1957 the Negro people in Little Rock, Arkansas, waged a fierce struggle against the barring of their children from public schools. The authorities used armed force against them, and there resulted the Little Rock incident which shocked the world.

In 1960 Negroes in more than twenty states held "sit-in" demonstrations protesting against racial segregation in local restaurants, shops and other public places.

In 1961 the Negroes launched a campaign of "freedom riders" to oppose racial segregation in transport, a campaign which rapidly spread to many states.

In 1962 the Negroes in Mississippi fought for the equal right to enroll in colleges, and the authorities greeted them with a blood bath.

This year, the struggle of the American Negroes started early in April in Birmingham, Alabama. Unarmed, bare-handed Negro people were subjected to wholesale arrests and the most barbarous suppression merely because they were holding meetings and parades against racial discrimination. On June 12 Mr. Medgar Evers, a leader of the Negro people in Mississippi, was murdered in cold blood. Aroused to indignation and defying brutal suppression, these Negro masses carried on their struggle even more courageously and quickly won the support of Negroes and all sections of the people throughout the United States. A gigantic and vigorous nation-wide struggle is going on in nearly every state and city of the United States; and the struggle is mounting. American Negro organizations have decided to start a "freedom march" on Washington on August 28, in which 250,000 people will take part.

The speedy development of the struggle of the American Negroes is a manifestation of the sharpening of class struggle and national struggle within the United States; it has been causing increasing anxiety to U.S. ruling circles. The Kennedy Administration has resorted to cunning two-faced tactics. On the one hand, it continues to connive at and take part in the discrimination against Negroes and their persecution; it even sends troops to suppress them. On the other hand, in its attempt to lull the fighting will of the Negro people and deceive the masses throughout the country, the Kennedy Administration is parading as an advocate of the "defence of human rights" and "the protection of the civil rights of Negroes", is calling upon the Negro people to exercise "restraint" and is proposing the "civil rights legislation" to Congress. But more and more Negroes are seeing through these tactics of the Kennedy Administration. The fascist atrocities committed by the U.S. imperialists against the Negro people have laid bare the true nature of the so-called democracy and freedom of the United States and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the U.S. government at home and its policies of aggression abroad.

I call on the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened persons of all colours in the world, whether white, black, yellow or brown, to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practised by U.S. imperialism and support the American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. In the final analysis, a national struggle is a question of class struggle. In the United States, it is only the reactionary ruling circles among the whites who oppress the Negro people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people. At present, it is the handful of imperialists headed by the United States, and their supporters, the reactionaries in different countries, who are inflicting oppression, aggression and intimidation on the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples of the world. We are in the majority and they are in the minority. At most, they make up less than 10 per cent of the 3,000 million population of the world. I am firmly convinced that, with the support of more than 90 per cent of the people of the world, the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle. The evil system of colonialism and imperialism grew up along with enslavement of Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the thorough emancipation of the black people.

Comments on the struggle of the American Negroes are frequently and extensively recorded, posted in the same school, eat at the same table, or travel in the same section of a bus or train as the white people. Negroes are frequently and extensively recorded, posted



Brothers and sisters we ask you to support: The Monroe Defense Committee, 605 Brown Street, Monroe, North Carolina. Telephone: Code No. 704. 283-8029.

Contributions for The Crusader should be sent to: Mrs. Anne Olson, 21 Ellis Gardens, Toronto 3, Ontario, Canada.

Note new address: The Crusader, P.O. Box 359, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.

### NEGROES WITH GUNS

Tune in to: Radio Free Dixie—690 on the dial (long wave). Best reception: Transistor, car and home radios with outside aerial. Friday 10-11 p.m. Sunday and Tuesday, 11-12 midnight (E.S.T.).

Black America published quarterly by RAM, Black Liberation Front of the U.S.A. Write P.O. Box 359.

Robert F. Williams—U.S.A., P.O. Box 6185, Havana, Cuba.

### THE POTENTIALS OF A MINORITY REVOLUTION

(By Robert Williams)

When the brutally oppressed Afroamerican speaks of violent resistance to savage racial dehumanization, he reaps a whirlwind of reasons and causes why such a reaction supposedly is insane and suicidal. There is no end to the stereotyped polemics and heated opposition that beclouds a rational and objective discourse on the subject. From the camps of the rabid white supremacy power structure, the fellow traveling white liberal and the mercenary running dog Uncle Tom, any individual who raises such a question is labeled a bloodthirsty crackpot, not worthy of social acceptance in America's "democratic and Christian" society. Proponents of the peaceful transition philosophy are quick to evoke the Gandhian theory of appealing to the conscience of the brutal oppressor and conquering him with the power of nonviolence and love.

These Gandhian Fabians inadvertently extol the success of Gandhi's peaceful revolution. Gandhi's nonviolent revolution may have guaranteed the ruling powers immunity from the violence of the masses, but it most certainly left the masses exposed to the violence of the oppressors. It served to assure that only the blood of the oppressed would flow.

The disciples of the Gandhi theory of peaceful transition elect to omit the latter stage of the continuous revolution. Revolution is a continuing process. It is essential, in appraising the success of the Indian Revolution, to consider the fact that Nehru, a disciple of Gandhi, dispaired of the love principle in extending Liberation to Goa, Damao, and Diu. He refused to settle the Pakistan and the Chinese border question peacefully as exemplified by the philosophy of nonviolence and love. Despite the Gandhian "power of love" theory's evolution to a "force of arms" theory, Afroamericans are still being drugged with the opium of the power of love and nonviolence.

The forces with a vested interest in the equilibrium of the U.S. master-slave society and their agents of deceit are more than willing to point out to our miserably exploited and dehumanized masses that violent resistance and self-defense will mean total annihilation and extermination. This is in itself an unwitting admission of the beastly nature of the oppressor. If such an oppressor is conceded to be capable of such an act of genocide and history bears out his determination to maintain the status quo, where is the wisdom of the logic that he will tolerate the loss of his slave empire through peaceful means? The very essence of revolution is radical change. Revolution is necessitated by abusive and reactionary power. This abusive and oppressive power perpetuates itself through the medium of violence. In the outset the oppressive force commands the superior power, if it did not, violent revolution would not be necessary. If the oppressed controlled the means of power, a peaceful transition could possibly be executed by virtue of the will of the oppressed.

It is possible for a minority revolution to succeed in powerful America? The cynics, prophets of doom, and agents of the oppressive establishment maintain that to even raise such a question is insane. They energetically, with a clairvoyant air, assure us that violent self-defense or violent resistance to brutal racial oppression can lead only to suicide. How do they know? What is the basis of their logic? Are they any wiser than those cynics who brazenly stated that "man will never fly," that "it is impossible to cross the oceans," that "man can

never reach the speed of a mile a minute and survive," and that "the American Revolution can never succeed against the military might of the Crown?" How do they know that violent resistance on the part of our people will lead to suicide? Yes, they have been conditioned to accept America's racist tyranny as a condition bound to prevail until the tyrant himself elects to abandon the throne of tyranny. They are more than resigned to the premise that white supremacy might is the God of the fate and destiny of oppressed black humanity.

Yes, a minority revolution has as much, or more, chance of succeeding in the racist USA as any place else in the world. At the very outset, all revolutions are minority revolutions. In the early stages cynics think that all revolutions have a very remote chance of succeeding. Revolutionaries display a propensity to accomplish the impossible. Is the Afroamerican revolution to be an exception? Do we subscribe to the premises of white supremacy? Is it because the oppressor is white and the oppressed is black that most of the world accepts the premise that our struggle must be white-led and supported by the majority race or that it is insignificant and doomed to failure?

The fact of the matter is that the Afroamerican wants and has been seeking brotherhood with the white masses since his enslavement in the New World. A people as brutally oppressed as American Negroes cannot wait forever for the support of mythological and theoretical allies. Most white workers in the USA today have a vested interest in the status quo. The present system grants them special privileges in a jungle society. The cow of production may be lean and diseased but the Negro is the only herdsman limited to the outlets of feet and tail. The vast majority of the white have also been mentally poisoned with racism. It is asinine to expect them to recover from their race psychosis without a severe shock treatment.

The American society is a highly industrialized complex. A highly industrialized and mechanized system is also a very sensitive one. The more machinery required to serve a community the greater the incidence of mechanical breakdown. The more dependent a community is on mechanization, the more important it is for the wheels of industry to perpetually turn smoothly. Social systems, like biological systems, tend to adjust to environmental conditions and requirements. The American society, over a long period of time, has adjusted itself to a high rate of productivity directly bearing of the relativity of consumption.

It is a universally known fact that the power structure of the racist USA is rabidly opposed to self-defense on the part of our people. They have a morbid fear of violent self-preservation on the part of U.S. freedom fighters. Is this because they love the dehumanized Negro? Is this because they are concerned with the welfare and well-being of our brutalized people? Is this because the American society is a pacifist society with an aversion for violence? No! A thousand times No! If the power structure had ever manifested any true concern for the welfare of our people (for whom it now professes great fear that we may commit suicide by fighting for the right to live as human beings) there would be no question of violent liberation struggle. The question of peaceful persuasion, as a moral issue, is belied by its imperialist military actions against Cuba, South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and other liberated areas. Why is such a belligerently imperialist government not concerned about black Americans, and whites as well, being exterminated in a nuclear war? Was it not Kennedy, as the very head of the U.S. Government and white so-called liberal society, who said, "... We will live up to our commitments even if victory turns to ashes in our mouths?" Where were the panic preachers then, who express such great concern and alarm for the possibility of black Americans being exterminated in violently resisting racial oppression? Is not a black American just as dead when killed in an international war of conquest as in a national struggle for liberation?

Why are the liberals, Uncle Toms and the power structure so hysterical about the possibility of massive violence erupting on the national human rights scene?

The fact is that the racist oppressors of the Afroamerican realize the insecurity and vulnerability of the most powerful military complex in the world to a violent internal struggle, wherein its horrible and sophisticated weapons of war will be ineffective. The internal defense of the U.S. is a possibility that money cannot buy. Only a change in the moral and social structure of the system offers security against an enraged oppressed citizenry. The USA is either unwilling or morally incapable of bearing the cost of this type of internal security. The race question is her Achilles heel, her Maginot line.

The power structure, the liberals and Uncle Toms are in essence asking Afro-america to cooperate with are the very forces that are opposing them. How can



oppressed people who seek liberation, afford to allow the enemy to dictate the method of struggle? How can a people, who are dead serious about their freedom, allow themselves to be duped into limiting themselves to the most ineffective method of struggle? It is not logical to accommodate the will of the oppressor, who has a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, and to wage a successful liberation struggle simultaneously.

The fact is that racist white America is not worried about the possibility of Negroes being exterminated. It is more worried about the loss of its privileged position in its racist caste society, its system of white supremacy and world domination. It is ironical that we note inherent inequality in the very method and tactics proposed to abolish the evil inequities of racism. The white barbaric racist is deduced a "white only" special privilege in the realm of all violence, both justified and unjustified. The execution of human prerogatives is again straddled with a limitation placed on brutally oppressed people whose miserable existence is the very personification of limited human endeavor. A democratic or equillitarian society is devoid of minority or majority distinctions based on race or class. An integrated society of racial equality in the United States is impossible if specific limitations are placed on black citizens, while excluding white ones. True equality must not only extend to the Afroamerican the right to full participation in virtuous endeavors but also the full right to the equal extent of the white nationalist class in some not so virtuous endeavors. Equality, total equality, must grant the black citizen the same right to be a devil or a god as the whites. It must grant him the same right of temper and the same right of self-defense as any other citizen. To limit the Afroamerican struggle to the narrow confines of non-violence, while the white oppressor class wages a violent struggle to maintain the status quo, is to invoke the principle of Jim Crow and its racial inequality. The power of nonviolence and love is a farce. Socrates was nonviolent and he, too, stressed love. He died at the hands of violent men. Christ was nonviolent and he, too stressed love and nonviolence, he too, died a violent death. History is replete with examples of nonviolent men, as well as violent ones, who died from the power of violence either justified or unjustified. We have the case of millions of non-violent Jews, who found meekness to be greatly inadequate in the face of ruthless and intemperate Nazi violence. The force of Nazism was not crushed by non-violence and love but a fighting spirit, backed up by force and violence. The Christians who were cast into the ancient lion pits were not saved by the power of nonviolence and love. Where is the example of the success of this power, of this nonviolence and love? The mystic principle of the power of nonviolence and love borders on the primitive poisonous snake-handling rituals of some religious cults.

The most noble of mankind must surely aspire for a human level of endeavor, wherein mankind can establish a utopian society divested of brute force and violence. The irony of this great dream is that if it is at all possible, it is possible only through the medium of violence. It is possible only through Revolution.

Many of the nonviolent preachers in North America tend to fuse Gandhism and Christianity. Their hybrid type of pacifism leans heavily on Christian teachings and on the bible, which threatens that the entire earth is to be destroyed by violent fire. Its watchword is the coming of Armageddon. Not a nonviolent battle but the most ferociously violent one ever staged. These advocates of the Christian power of nonviolence and love omit that part of the Old Testament which describes the evil subversion attempted by the devil when peaceful coexistence was generated in Heaven to a state of open conflict wherein the Christian's God, the highest ideal of peace and love, ordered the devil forcibly ejected from the heavenly society. In removing the devil and his evil from menacing the peace of the ideal community, it is significant to note that God did not see fit to relegate such an important task to the realm of nonviolence. Why is the mortal Afroamerican expected to be more peaceful and loving toward his enemy than his divine God?

From the very earliest event of the African's chained arrival in the New World, he has been subjected to every form of brute force, systematic demoralization and dehumanization conceivable. The insensate slave masters left no stone unturned in conditioning oppressed blacks to meekly accept their miserable lot. The black man's fate was presented as being inseparable from the will of the white man. He was deliberately conditioned to base the prospects of his fortune on the Christian charity or conscience of the good white folks. Our people have never been allowed to forget that all significant power is in the hands of and under the control of the all-powerful and God-chosen white man.

The lip agents, both black and white of the white man's supremacy doctrine have been rapid and more than lavish in proclaiming the "white folks" as possessors of all the cannons, the bombs, the machine guns and the complete military establishment. This has been true and it is essentially true today, however times have changed. These changes do not bear good tidings for the perennial and brutal oppressor dehumanizer and exploiter of our people.

"Our people's freedom spirit has been ossified by the continuous harangue of 'we cannot possibly win a violent struggle of liberation'. It is impossible for a people to rise above their aspirations. If we think we cannot win, we most certainly cannot. Our greatest enemy is our defeatist attitude. Our oppressor's greatest weapon of repression is his psychological apparatus by which he impregnates our people with a defeatist complex. Are we to concede the fact that racial oppression and tyranny prevail invincible and unshakable? Are we to concede to the unchallenged almighty power of our dehumanizer, that he is the supreme benefactor of our freedom? Are we destined to forever kneel begglingly at his feet seeking the alms of liberty and justice?

The sweetest fruits of liberty are plucked by those who readily display boldness and daring. The cringing and the reluctant constitute the hindmost part of a civilization in constant transition. The defeatist voice of cynicism is the inevitable scum that litters the shore before all daring world-shaking exploits of embarkation. What would civilization resemble if all revolutionaries, inventors, adventurers and scientist had heeded the inevitable voices of the doubting Thomases, who perennially admonish that every novel and daring exploit is predestined to fail? Ironically, the survival of the cynic and the conservative is assured by the dogged iconoclast.

The physical conditioning of a society also manifests certain relative psychological traits. The American mind has been conditioned to think of great calamities, wars and revolutionary upheavals as taking place on distant soil. Because of the vast upper and middle classes is the USA, that have grown accustomed to comfortable living, the nation is not psychologically prepared for massive violence and a sudden disruption of the essential agencies of the affluent society. The soft society is highly susceptible to panic.

Afroamericans have long sought a peaceful solution to the race question. It is more than obvious that a people, who have manifested and unshakable faith in the vain hope that the government would eventually grant citizenship and justice, prefers a peaceful solution. Our people have dreamed and prayed for a peaceful transition from slavery to first class citizenship and human dignity. Peaceful evolution, through the mediums of legislation, law and negotiation are the methods that have been pursued for almost 200 years under the present government. The results are bitter and frustrating indeed. The orderly social process has been stymied by savage violence and brute force.

Instead of the majority race extending brotherhood and justice, it has resorted to a campaign of a massive drive aimed at extermination. The fascist elements are arming, not to liberate our brutally oppressed people but to liquidate us. It is becoming next to impossible for Negroes to conduct a "peaceful" demonstration in America. A Civil Rights Bill will have no more effect than the U.S. Constitution. What is integration when the law says yes, but the police and howling mobs say no? Our only logical and successful answer is to meet organized and massive violence with massive and organized violence. Our people must prepare to wage an urban guerrilla war of self-defense. Self-defense develops to the stage wherein the source of evil and terror must be eliminated.

In Monroe, North Carolina (the first instance wherein highly organized self-defense units supplemented nonviolent tactics and reduced the incidence of resulting terror) our force of defense was adequate in staving off local attacks. We had enough force and arms to reduce the entire city to ashes. The fault, however, lay in the fact that we had an isolated force without extensive outside forces to pin down, ambush and destroy the state reinforcements moving in to overpower us. Our self-defense forces had to remain purely static and defensive. The Monroe explosion came prematurely because of our shift in emphasis from self-defense to publicly overemphasizing nonviolence. The racists seized this time of weakness and confusion to launch an attack to annihilate our forces. A six year effective self-defense campaign terminated in ill-fated untimely experiment with nonviolence. The organization of external forces was just being conceived. A decision was made to spare the city thus avoiding an all-out confrontation prematurely. The town would have been destroyed but our defense forces would have been crushed by external power, and the state and white



supremacists would have used the example to intimidate other advocates of self-defense. The racist news media would have portrayed the entire operation as one conducted by psychotic extremists.

The lesson of Monroe teaches that effective self-defense, on the part of our brutally oppressed and terrorized people, requires massive organization with central coordination. External oppressive forces must not be allowed to relieve the besieged vast terroristes. The forces of the state must be kept under pressure in many places simultaneously. The white supremacy masses must be forced to retreat to their homes in order to give security to their individual families.

The weapons of defense employed by Afroamerican freedom fighters must consist of a poor man's arsenal. Gasoline fire bombs (Molotov cocktails), lye or acid bombs (made by injecting lye or acid in the metal end of light bulbs) can be used extensively. During the night hours such weapons, thrown from roof tops, will make the streets impossible for racist cops to patrol. Hand grenades, bazookas, light mortars, rocket launchers, machine guns and ammunition can be bought clandestinely from servicemen, anxious to make a fast dollar. Freedom fighters in military camps can be contacted to give instructions on usage.

Extensive sabotage is possible. Gas tanks on public vehicles can be choked up with sand. Sugar is also highly effective in gasoline lines. Long nails driven through boards and tacks with large heads are effective to slow the movement of traffic on congested roads at night. This can cause havoc on turnpikes. Derailing of trains causes panic. Explosive booby traps on police telephone boxes can be employed. High powered sniper rifles are readily available. Armor piercing bullets will penetrate oil storage tanks from a distance. Phosphorus matches (kitchen matches) placed in air conditioning systems will cause delayed explosions which will destroy expensive buildings. Flame throwers can be manufactured at home. Combat experienced ex-service men can easily solve that problem.

Techniques mentioned here are generalized and require a closer study, however, let the cynics take note that the mighty USA is not as snug and secure as it once was. Yes, a minority war of self-defense can succeed. The Afroamerican can win. We need not submit, passively to racist extermination and brutality. The race question is America's Achilles heel. America's great abundance is what makes America America, without it she would be a wretched land of chaos. Her economy is already under stress and her military might is spread out too thinly throughout the world.

The bourgeoisie has very little stomach for massive blood and violence. They love their property, the source of their power and wealth. They are highly susceptible to panic. The majority white supremacists do not command the loyalty of the entire race. There are a few John Brown type students and militants.

Afroamericans must remember that such a campaign of massive self-defense should not be based upon a lust for sadistical gratification. It cannot be a campaign for vengeance, however, sweet and deserving vengeance may be. Such a campaign of self-defense and survival must be based on the righteous cause of justice. It must not be anti-white but anti-oppression and injustice. Uncle Toms should be as much a target as racist whites.

Like it or not we cannot escape the trend of history. The hour is fast approaching when our people must make a decision to meekly submit to fascist forces of terror and extermination or surge forth to the battle to liberate ourselves, save America and liquidate its domestic enemies. If we truly seek freedom and human dignity we must be willing to pay for it in the fashion of the Algerians. Great magnitudes of our people must be willing to fight and die in America's true cause and commitment to her Constitution, democratic principles and the rights of man, and for a victory that will not . . . "turn to ashes in our mouth," but to eternal freedom and happiness in our hearts. Such a victory truly make the world safe for democracy. It would secure the world from extermination by hydrogen war. Not only is America's peace security involved but also the peace and security of the whole world.

The horrible nightmare of massive violence need not fall upon the American scene. It can be slaved off by the birth of a sincere spirit of humanity, dedicated to the proposition of brotherhood, peace and security.

When a brutally oppressed and dehumanized people are denied the peaceful channels through which to activate redress, and when their peaceful petitions are answered with ruthless violence, the only recourse left to them is to meet violence with violence.

We do not advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. We merely advocate self-defense for brutalized Afroamericans. If in the process of executing

our Constitutional and God-given right of self-defense, the racist U.S. Government, which refuses to protect our people, is destroyed, the end result stems from certain historical factors of social relativity.

"... This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their Constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written Constitutional right, it might, in any moral point of view, justify revolution. . . ." Abraham Lincoln, 1861.

The oppressor's heart is hard. The experience of history teaches that he only relents under violent pressure and force. There is very little hope that he will see the handwriting on the wall before it is too late. 1964 was a violent one. The storm will reach hurricane proportions in 1965 and the eye of the hurricane will hover over America by 1966. America is a house on fire—FREEDOM NOW—or let it burn, let it burn. Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition !!!

#### PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

One of the most potent of weapons in the arsenal of modern warfare is being overlooked in our struggle for human rights. Billions of dollars are being spent throughout the world in the battle for the minds of men. Psychological warfare cannot be viewed with indifference by any force or group concerned with the struggle for its survival. Psychological warfare should supplement field or other operations and sometimes the situation should be vice versa.

The courage and skill manifested by Afroamericans in street demonstrations are not being properly matched in the psychological realm of the struggle. So-called U.S. democracy is a product that the U.S. is trying to peddle to a world wherein a vast majority of the population is colored. America's projected plan of world domination requires it to seduce many of the dark people's of the world by means of hypocrisy and deceit. U.S. racism is indefensible. Even a great portion of the reactionary forces of the world are reluctant to run the risk of being branded as tolerant towards U.S. racism.

It goes without saying that a picket line is most successful when it effectively reduces the sale of an essential product of the adversary. The USA is making a desperate effort to sell so-called Christian democracy to the Multiracial world. One of the greatest potential barriers to U.S. success in this field is her complete moral bankruptcy in race relations. The U.S. State Department is well aware of the sensitivity involved in this problem. This explains the disproportionate of Negro appointments to publicity reaping positions and the flagrant denial of human rights for the black masses in cases where patronage is strictly moral and without propaganda benefits.

Afroamerican Freedom Fighters must coordinate street action with psychological warfare. We must be able, willing and ready to strike the oppressor in his Achilles heel. The fact of the matter is that once the true nature of U.S. imperialism and racism is known, the decent peoples of the world will lose all respect for the savage Yankee. Yes, the truth shall help to make us free. Job discrimination, discrimination in housing, police brutality, court frame-up, racist violence, and brutality must be brought to the attention of the entire world. It would be shocking to most of our people to really know how little foreigners truly know about the nature of our oppressor and the barbaric conditions under which our people live in the affluent society of the so-called free world. Much of this lack of information can be directly attributed to failure on our part.

As an oppressed people, we have actually cooperated with our oppressor by allowing him to deceive our people into believing that the U.S. race problem is no more than a lover's quarrel. We have allowed Uncle Toms to help U.S. racists to convince the peoples abroad that Negroes fare quite well in racist America. The brutal oppression of the Afroamerican is no more a part of a lover's quarrel than is the bloody heathenish racist affair of South Africa. The Negro is never going to fare well in racist America until he forcefully brings about social changes.

The Afroamerican should have no compunction about unleashing psychological warfare against the racist USA. A government as derelict in protecting the human rights of its citizens as that of the USA forfeits its very right to exist, let alone enjoy the loyalty of those it oppresses. The racist oppressive government of the USA is doing everything within its power to prevent the true story of the horrible plight of the masses of our people from reaching the outside world. This



supporter of South Africa and Portugal is even resorting to robbing the mails in a desperate effort to maintain a deceptive false image abroad. U.S. Information centers are being stocked with black prestige magazines like EBONY, while militant publications are being pilfered and sabotaged by U.S. agents throughout the world.

Too many of our people are afraid of being branded as being disloyal. Too many Negro leaders are more concerned with convincing the white folk's government how much it can count on them and their dog loyalty than of dignifying the land and bringing justice to all the people. The words "disloyal" and "subversive" engender too much fear in a land that enjoys the heritage of patriots, who were disloyal enough to denounce the Crown of oppressive and imperialist England. The U.S. Government is an oppressive government. It is a racist government and until such time that it guarantees human rights to black Americans as well as whites, it is not worthy of the loyalty of its black captives and decent white dissenters.

The peoples of the world are very much in sympathy with our oppressed and dehumanized people, when the true nature of our plight is brought to their attention. Therefore, it is a duty of all who labor for Afroamerican liberation to also strive to inform the peoples of the world of the plight of the Afroamerican. It is also necessary to form foreign relations committees in all civil rights groups that truly represent the best interests of the people. These committees must compile lists of foreign news media and sympathetic groups and unleash a barrage of releases dealing with the real plight of our people and the true nature of the oppressor, who has proclaimed himself savior of the world. Yes, we must expand our arsenal.

We must become proficient in the art of psychological warfare, the Achilles heel of the big bad racist oppressor. Yes, we must fight back violently and psychologically. We must defend ourselves. Self-defense means self-preservation and survival. Let the whole world know that we take our liberation seriously and that we, like our black brothers of South Africa, are not engaged in a petty lover's quarrel with the racist savages of America but in a life and death struggle.

The brutal North American oppressor of our people is incapable of rendering justice to non-white people. He is incapable of rejecting violence as a means of maintaining his rotten and decadent system of ruthless exploitation and idiotic white supremacy. Almost 400 years of history proves him, even to be, incapable of accepting Afroamericans as human beings. My brothers and sisters, the only force capable of inducing change in the heart of such a savage is the only force that he respects and responds to. It is the force of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. We must defend ourselves. We must fight back. We must defend our homes and our women and children.

Nonviolence as a tactic is to be readily approved. It is time for every freedom loving and civilized person in the racist USA to enter the struggle to civilize and liberate the so-called free world. It is time for all of our people to take to the streets in defense of human rights and dignity. Worthy social change, means drastic change. Drastic change means revolution. Revolution means violence and upheaval. The Afroamerican cannot have his cake and eat it too. The Afroamerican cannot have freedom and human dignity and peaceful co-existence with the racist slavemaster simultaneously. The Afroamerican cannot have a peaceful revolution of liberation from such a beastly oppressor. Peace at the expense of liberty is not peace but the prostitution of compromise.

We cannot overstress the fact that the racist forces of the extreme right are arming to conduct a campaign of extermination against our people. Savage white supremacists are preparing a spring and summer offensive that they call "Operation Blackjack". Operation Blackjack signifies massive violence and a ruthless campaign of terror against our people designed to intimidate the timid, and to force a total retreat on the civil rights front. This racist conspiracy of Cyprus-type warfare is predicted on the belief that our people will not fight back, that we will not defend ourselves and that turn-the-other-cheekism on the part of our defenseless people, will offer the Ku Klux Klan and the Minutemen immunity from retaliation.

The racist thug advocates of white supremacy have a mortal fear of a policy of self-defense on the part of our submissive people. This is because of the fact that the United States' position in the world is so sensitive and precarious today that any long drawn massive rioting across the nation would strike a death knell for the farce called the democratic way of life. Contrary to what Uncle Toms and racist buffoons would have our people believe, it is not the Negro who would be

exterminated in such a conflict, but the so-called American way of life and those racist imperialists who conspire to conquer, dominate and spread Birmingham-type justice around the world. All the civilized peoples of the world are in sympathy with our struggle to civilize the master race savages and their social jungle called representative democracy of the Christian USA.

The Afro-American in the USA is facing his greatest crisis since chattel slavery. All forms of violence and underhanded methods of extermination are being stepped up against our people. Contrary to what the "big daddies" and their "good nigras" would have us believe about all of the phony progress they claim the race is making, the true status of the Afro-American is steadily on the down turn.

Those mercenary Afro-Americans who pander their self respect and prostitute the human dignity of the race for crumbs from their white master's tables are helping to forge the nails for their own caskets. Have they not learned anything from the lesson of the history of the Jews in Nazi Germany? All the world knows how many Jews sold out their race hoping to gain insulation for themselves. It is common knowledge that the only privilege they won was the right to go to the gas chamber last. Now they are just as dead as the ones who went first.

Already the colored people of the U.S. are plagued with mass arrests, attacks by vicious Nazi trained police dogs, and victims of gun and club happy racists policemen. Already our people are victims of mass unemployment, official conspiracies of starvation and Ku Klux Klan terror backed by the U.S. Justice Department. Already the racist, facists are laying the ground-work for a mass exodus. Our people must not forget how the Nazis loaded the Jews on death trains under the pretense of sending workers to other locations when they were really destined for the extermination chambers. It goes without saying that the Afro-American is not wanted in the USA any more. Machinery and poor white workers are fast replacing him.

The F.B.I., the Minutemen and the KKK are of the same ilk. There is no class immunity for Afro-Americans. When mass terror breaks loose, all people of color are targets. Turn the other cheekism is no survival tactic for a jungle filled with wild beasts and savages presided over by an impotent witch doctor, Slick John Kennedy, whose magic potions only work in far away places.

#### THE DISEASE OF BIGOTS

The racists of the USA suffer from mass psychoneurosis. Their minds have become so twisted out of normal proportions that they have become mental cases. They possess warped personalities that have forced them out of the realm of natural readjustment. The racist bigots of the USA are monomaniacs when race is involved. Many are perfectly normal in every subject but the one encompassing human rights for colored people. A brilliant college professor or scientist who is a bigot may possess an open mind and high intellectual integrity in every field but that of race relations. In this realm he may react as a blind fanatic whose sensibilities are as insensate as the most rabid racist of the backwoods country. His insensate nature makes him immune to logic and fact that serve as a stimulus to normal people with open minds. When individuals' personalities become divorced from reality and insensible to the stimulus of a normal environment, the best antidote is a shock that registers and revives the sensible capabilities to the state of reality.

The Afro-American has been subjected to racism and persecution for almost 400 years in the new world. Common sense dictates that white oppressors who have been unable to develop a humane attitude and a just state of human intercourse indicative of a civilized society in four centuries are incapable of doing so voluntarily merely from the standpoint of social readjustment.

It must also be realized that an oppressed people who have meekly submitted to the every whim of such a deranged personality cannot possibly have completely escaped unscathed. Too many Afro-Americans have for too long, even though unwillingly, played an accommodating pretender's game in a vain effort to pacify the hopeless lunatics.

In this past when this all powerful lunatic, with his homicidal tendencies, insisted that he was God almighty, for the sake of survival it may have been necessary to go along with him. This is no longer the case. He is no longer the supreme power in the world. Afro-Americans must stop playing the accommodating lunatic's game. We must shock him back to reality. Afro-Americans must stop pretending to go along with insane racism.



No sane person is willing to wear a badge of inferiority. No sane person is satisfied to live under a caste system of brutal Jim crow. Human life is too short and precious to spend under terrifying conditions as a subhuman.

We must let the entire world know that we are not satisfied with racism in the USA. We must let the racist brute himself know that we are no longer going to play his idiots' game. We must also serve notice on the world that we are willing to help place him in a straight jacket until he is completely cured of his insensate, sadistic and homicidal tendencies.

With the US struggling to dominate the world, the Afro-American is looked upon as a raging bull in a China closet. The racist dictators of fascist and racist America are horrified at the thought that the enraged black bull may set out on a kicking spree at a moment detrimental to the US move toward world domination.

The afro-american is in more danger inside the USA at this very moment than at any time in the history of the USA, including slavery time. The slave, because of his value as a machine of labor was considered as asset to the racist USA. Automation and the great surplus of ofay workers, who are more than willing to replace their black brothers as the mules of drudgery in a fascist society, have nullified the value of the Afroamerican as far as the racist society is concerned. It must be understood that this savage concept of the white supremacists is based upon the uncivilized belief that black people are not human and that they have no rightful place of citizenship in the so-called "free world."

It is generally felt in racist circles today in the USA that the black man is the white man's burden. Because of social evolution, the Afroamerican is fast becoming a displaced person in his own native land. The insensate ofays feel that the Afro is a white elephant. He can neither eat him, employ him nor love him. He is considered only good as black window dressing in baiting a trap to spring in the captivity of the colored peoples of the world and their vast resources. The black man is also considered good cannon fodder in US campaigns of conquest.

In the "free world" of Dixie USA, the income differential between Afro-american and white families exemplifies the plight of Afros in the ofay world of representative democracy. Dixie ofay family income for 1959 was a median figure of \$4,903 as compared to \$1,929 averaged by the families of our race. Although our people constitute 10.5 per cent of the total population of the so-called American way of life, they receive something less than 5 per cent of the nation's income. As of 1960, one out of six nonwhite dwelling units was dilapidated, compared with one out of thirty-two white dwellings.

Twenty-nine per cent of the nonwhite dwellings were deteriorating, compared with 12 percent for white dwellings; non-whites are less likely to own their own homes and when they do the chances are one out of three that the home is substandard; two fifths of the nonwhite dwellings lacked some or all plumbing, compared with only one-tenth of the white-occupied units. These are national figures. The problem in the South is even more serious: One out of four non-white dwellings (rentals) are dilapidated as compared with one out of ten for white dwelling units. Not only is nonwhite housing of an inferior quality; the nonwhite dweller must pay more for his housing.

As an example of the nationwide trend, in the Greater Metropolitan Area of Chicago 5.2 per cent of the total labor force is unemployed but 15.6 per cent of the Afroamericans in the labor force is unemployed. Unemployment among Afro-american has not dropped below 10 per cent for the past 10 years. Ofay liberals and phony friends of the Afroamericans have proudly boasted of the great strides being made by the amusing "good nigras" and they are quick to point to the mythological increase in income. The fact of the matter is that the cost of living is higher than it has ever been before. The crucial issue is that the income of the American Negro family showed no progress in relation to the income of the white family in the past two decades.

The USA is fast becoming a fascist police state and the Afroamerican is the major scape-goat. The Kennedy administration is well aware of the plight of the Afroamerican. It is a party to the conspiracy against him.

#### STOCK MARKET: A BAROMETER FOR VIOLENCE

In the USA the Afro-American is always the last to be hired and the first to be fired. With the stock market acting up the way it is Afro-Americans are in for some hard days ahead. Also when great numbers of racists are unemployed a scapegoat is always needed. We don't have to stretch our imagination to

Imagine who scapegoat number one is. History also shows that more violence is visited upon Afro-Americans during times of economic hardship. When racists start to suffer they find the need for vent for their pent up frustrations. The cunning rable rousers direct this vicious frustration toward the poor miserable Afro-American.

The Afro-American would do well to remember this. He should also remember the fact that the rulers of the USA are inclined to use war as a means of propping up a sagging economy. Those "good nigras" who insist on clinging to their white masters despite his evil designs at home and abroad had better remember that the gates are broad and open wide that lead to Hell.

Those who persist in dog loyalty to their white masters and insist on following him to war against just and democratic peoples most certainly shall have the honor of being atomized at his feet. Racism and imperialism's days are numbered, the best thing Afros can do is not to support such evil causes. The Afro-American's destiny is tied to that of his Latin American, African and Asian brothers who are going to help bring a new order of social justice to the world. If the Afro-American is to take up arms it had better be in defense of his women, children and human dignity.

Our oppressors are beasts. They are devoid of human conscience. But even the beast of the jungle respects force and violence. Our dignity demands that we defend ourselves. Our self preservation requires us to FIGHT BACK. Yes, a dark and foreboding shadow hovers over our people like a ghastly raven. Violence and terror sweep the land like a firestorm. We have no recourse but to raise our battle cry. Let every street become a battle field and every first strike a blow. Let every stone become a weapon and every black man, woman and child become a soldier and patriot in our cause of liberty. My brothers and sisters, it is now or never. We must overcome at any price. No, we are not afraid, for it is better to die than to survive as a subhuman. It is better to live just 30 seconds in full and beautiful dignity of manhood than to live a thousand years crawling and dragging our chains at the feet of our brutal oppressors. In the spirit of Lexington and Concord, Let our battle cry be heard around the world, Freedom! Freedom! Freedom now or death!!!

#### TIME TO UNITE

Nationalists who advocate separation should find cause to support the gallant efforts of our people in the South for Human rights. Integration or no integration, U.S. racism is being exposed and many of our people are being educated. Present defeats will pave the way for a powerful, united Black Nationalist Movement and self determination.

#### EXHIBIT No. 40<sup>1</sup>

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., January 6, 1969.

BROTHER IMARI,  
*Republic of New Africa,*  
*Detroit, Mich.*

DEAR SIR: Let it be known that from this day forward January 6, 1969, that I Shurli Grant due solemnly swear allegiance to the Republic of New Africa, it's constitution, it's Flag, it's concept.

Sincerely,

SHURLI GRANT.

#### EXHIBIT No. 67<sup>2</sup>

#### INTERVIEW WITH HERMAN FERGUSON AND ARTHUR HARRIS OF THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

(Editor's note: the struggle for black liberation and self-determination in this country incorporates a number of different forms of thought and action. One tendency within the struggle to which white people have generally failed to give due consideration and attention is the demand for full self-determination—separation. The Republic of New Africa is the leading organization currently articulating this position. The following interview with two of the leading spokesmen for the Brooklyn Consulate of the Republic of New Africa gives an expression of some of the basic thinking behind the demand for separation.)

<sup>1</sup> See p. 82 for discussion of this document.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 86 for discussion of this document.



Mostly what we'd like to ask you are very basic questions about what you do, where you do it . . .

HERMAN FERGUSON. I think that before you try to deal with separatism in a formal organization kind of way, you should really examine the concept, the ideology itself, of separation. You should recognize it as part of self-determination, and recognize the fact that revolutionary black nationalists see the struggle for our freedom as a national liberation struggle cast in the same mold as the national liberation struggles of the Vietnamese people, the Korean people, the Algerian people, and so on.

We feel that the first and foremost obligation we have is to get our national independence through this national liberation struggle, which involves dealing with the caste system first. The class struggle we feel at the moment will have to be taken care of by the white left, and by others who consider themselves Marxist-Leninists.

Once we have established our national liberation, our national independence, at that time then, we feel that we perhaps can become involved in a class struggle. But before then, it would be, to say the least, premature for us to talk in terms of a class struggle, especially when on the other side, among whites, there's still so much chaos and confusion, and we're clear as to what's happening. We can't tell who is doing what and where the various groups, what they're talking about even, when Abbie Hoffman (and all we know about you is what we read in the papers, just like all you know about us is what you read in the paper) Abbie Hoffman says the whole deal is just a joke. You know, he put the whole thing down. Well, I guess the guy, I mean that was, I suppose, part of his strategy.

You see how it leaves us; we feel that for our national liberation struggle to become involved in a social revolution at this point would be foolhardy. It would be politically incorrect, strategically, militarily, any way you look at it. It would only serve to harm our cause and your cause because if what we see your people doing is actually accomplishing the aims of your struggle, to seize state power, and we can see with state power in your hands, the possibilities of our national liberation struggle succeeding are greater, with less difficulty. At that time, then, also it's quite possible we might be able to deal with each other across national lines, you see. So we see that the one supporting the other, you know, mutual support. The end result that we are all striving for is the same thing, which is a classless society.

ARTHUR HARRIS. But while we're talking about the new left, I think we also should add some criticism of the new left. Because one of the things that white people have done is always say well you know you're all messed up in this and that. But as we examine the left, it's always the conservative elements that are in charge. Every time there's a peace march the thing is just limited to Vietnam, and then it doesn't even address itself to political demands. It just seems that it's supporting the system and that you're still part and parcel of the system. And there's just so much confusion and most of it focussed just on Vietnam, that it seems that it's just trying to say, you're wrong for being in Vietnam and get out of there when they're already in Laos.

It's a big and basic kind of thing that white people are not calling for the victory of the National Liberation Front, at least the leadership isn't—Women Strike for Peace, and Spock and all these people. So we say that if these people can't adhere to what's revolutionary they should keep their mouth shut and you should deal with them.

HF. Let me ask you something. Do you serve as a place for dissemination, do you collect news from all over and send it out to various papers? (yes) Do you make any news yourself, do you have any news stories that you send out yourselves or news analysis?

Yes, we write most of the news and analysis right here.

HF. One of the reasons I ask is that I have read your stuff carefully as it comes to our office because we look for things that we could use. Now there are some things in there that with changes we can use, but by and large there's very little in there that's relevant to black revolutionaries.

There's no attempt to analyze the separatist movement or the status of black people as a colonized people. Once you recognize that [status], the nature of our struggle is as clear as the palm of my hand. If we are a colonized people, then we have to get the colonizer off of our land, and claim that land for ourselves and plant our flag there and emerge as a whole people and a nation. Because we cannot get status, we cannot even get human rights, through any



other kind of struggle, if we understand that we are a colonized people who are held here in captivity against our wishes.

And so when you take the Panthers because they talk the Leninist-Marxist line and their analysis of the struggle is more in keeping with the white left, then they become the darlings of the left. We don't ask you to do that with us, we don't even want you to do that. But if you are scientific about analyzing the struggles of black people and the whole system here, the whole political spectrum here, you have to deal with our situation honestly, and you have to deal with it in the sense that as colonized people, the national liberation struggle is the correct struggle for us and that's the route we have to go at this point. For us to even talk about being involved in any social revolution, is putting the cart way before the horse. For us this is something we do later on.

If the white left takes care of its job, somewhere down the road, our paths will touch. You see as a nation of people we will decide what our political economic base is going to be. We understand that the interpretation of society and the struggles that have to take place among people was done by people who were part of the ruling class in terms of ruling us. So we have to be very careful about using their tools for interpreting our existence and how we are to go about freeing ourselves. I'm talking about black people using Karl Marx and Lenin in terms of class struggle at this time.

One of Lenin's important points is that the right of self-determination is a basic right.

HF: When we get that from so many white leftist groups, they turn off, at a certain point. Because, it seems to be extremely difficult for them to completely free themselves of their white nationalism and accept our right to self-determination. And because we intend to deal with the caste system first, that we don't constitute a threat to their existence, we see that it would be to our advantage to have the white left in charge of things.

But as we move along in our national liberation struggle, the white left is going to have to, very shortly, in the seventies, accelerate its struggle and move from the political struggle to armed struggle. And while you're doing this, we must be doing what we have to do. And we're supporting one another.

What sort of specific programs do you have?

HF: You see, the concept of nationalism, of separatism, goes back to before the Garvey days of the twenties. It goes way back to the time when black people were first brought here. Spokesmen like Garvey came along and articulated this feeling of nationalism on the part of black people—the sort of distinctive feeling that we were a separate people. And that we have our own separate way of life that we have to find. We have to find it, and put it to effective work, and then we can emerge as a whole people, and can really deal with other people on a basis of equality. And then Elijah Muhammed moved the idea of nationalism and self-determination further, and Malcolm, when he left the Nation of Islam became more political.

It has reached the point now where most black people have this feeling of nationalism, you find it extremely prevalent among the young, the high school, junior high school students, and many of the college students. And the manifestation of it is that the high school students this fall began to struggle around the right to fly the liberation flag, the red, black and green flag, the symbol of our aspirations. They also struggled in some schools around the right to remain seated and not to participate in the pledge of allegiance to the American flag. This was done without any organized group going into those schools and providing leadership. The concept has begun to take a hold in the black community, the students understand that that flag means more to them than the red, white and blue could ever mean, and they have to protect that flag and show it the same dignity, respect that the flag of any other nation is shown.

The business around the Panthers is part of the total scheme to crush the black liberation struggle. The Panthers are a convenient group to use because it's a group that's been very outspoken, very distinctive kind of dress, they talked about using the gun, and at the beginning they were dedicated to protecting and defending the black community.

That was why Huey Newton was on the streets, and directing the organization. And then when he went into prison and Eldridge moved in, they began to move more away from the black community and began to move into alliances with whites, not alliances to begin with, but they began to have more and more contact with whites, white influence coming into the Panthers party. It cul-



minated with the call by Bobby Seale back in June for a convention to form a United Front Against Fascism, and it was significant to us that shortly after that, Bobby was in prison himself, charged with conspiracy in Chicago.

Then they began to step up their campaign against the secondary leadership. Their idea was to so frighten black people that everybody could see what would happen if you stepped out of line. Sort of saying if you're black and in America and you want to do these things, if we want to do these things to you, we do them.

The whole idea was not to deal with the Panthers because the Panthers represented a revolutionary threat to the establishment. No, not the Panthers, it's black people period. And this whole move toward national liberation, this is of concern to the establishment. The fact that in the space of one year, through their own polls, they found that more than 25% of black people had joined the ranks of those who say they would separate from this country if they could. In 1968 only 6% were ready to separate. Now it's 31%. This is the thing that is disturbing to the establishment.

AH. They picked out the Panthers and they're trying to use them to demoralize other black people that are coming into the movement. They give you the idea that a crisis exists; they'll put everybody in jail or on the run and you're not safe anywhere to have a meeting. And this kind of stuff, which is true, I mean they'll do it, but which isn't absolutely true so far as the total black movement.

They just chose the Panthers when the Panthers had just started, in late '69 I think, and then they deleted everything that had happened—how Malcolm was murdered by the CIA, King, they even deleted King. And they just hung on to the Panthers to use that as a demoralizing feature in demonstrating what will happen to you.

We feel that if you look at what went on in the Sixties, and some of the stuff that Hoover's saying was just a small portion of this. Like in '65, when the commander of the National Guard in the Hough section of Cleveland said that they were fighting guerrillas and they couldn't catch anybody and they couldn't do anything, they were helpless. And on to the battle of Detroit when the entire black community rose up and fought the police and the national guard and the paratroopers. This wasn't any organization, it wasn't any organized conspiracy, but it was the overall black community.

And now the government has chosen the Panthers when they knew it was the black community. They just want to point the finger at them and try to use them to propagandize themselves.

It's so bad that they even went so far as putting police on TV from around the country. They have special programs they're running, "You can trust your local policeman" kind of thing. They had an hour thing on St. Louis. And in St. Louis, by the way, I think around 20-odd people got killed by a sniper and they never caught whoever was doing this. And the city lost thousands of millions of dollars, the city was paralyzed. It was like a curfew. It wasn't imposed by the police, it was imposed by the person or persons that were doing the sniping. And all these things are part and parcel of the liberation struggle that is going on, that's being carried out and waged by black people.

Have the women been taking an active part in the struggle?

AH. There's no separate women's liberation, because we're all black first. We don't feel separate oppression by sex.

HF. We see them as citizen soldiers.

AH. Women's liberation, that's just a jive thing to divide people from what they're trying to do. It doesn't exist, only in certain people's minds.

MH. We suffer the same setbacks, we suffer the same jails, we suffer the same brutalities, the same sentences; outside, the same hardships. There's no need for a separate struggle.

AH. I don't see any organizations on the left that were trying to operate and to do things that needed to be done. And I don't see any organizational structure that makes sense on the left to have any viable organization like the government may have, or even the John Birch Society. I just see a lot of talk and nothing else. Someone's going to come along and wash everything away and leave you in charge and I think this women's liberation thing is just a bunch of contradictions that take up people's time. The Minutemen don't have that problem. I would like to see the left develop the kind of organizational structures that can lead and conduct the struggle rather than demonstrations and all that. Some kind of organization that has some muscle. I'm not talking about smashing bank windows, that ——— is ridiculous.

So what I'm saying is that by just looking at the Panthers I think people have fallen into a serious trick bag and they like have your attention on something that's pertinent and that's important, but is just a small aspect of the total struggle of black people in America to gain their national liberation.

You've spoken about the Panthers, I sort of wonder how you feel about some of the other leading black groups like the Muslims, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit, some of these groups.

AH. You're talking about DRUM (Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement)? Well I feel that all of these groups are relevant, and they add to the black nationalist cause. Any action that you take in America the man is not going to let you have real power. He'll give you a Negro or a black person in the plant to be your slavemaster at that plantation, just like Rhody McCoy [leading figure in Oceanhill-Brownsville school de-centralization dispute], but you'll never have control over any decision-making process of your life. And I think that all these organizations point this up to black people daily through trying to improve the living conditions and the wages and everything.

I think DRUM is a necessary organization. I think the Muslims are a real beautiful organization and I think the whole thing about how they just came out and said what they were doing [establishing black-run cooperative farms in southern states] with a lot of their funds was really beautiful and it proves what you can accomplish once you unite black people. This whole concept, turning to agriculture and "doing for self" I think is good. I think that they definitely have a great impact on black people. Probably what will happen—I guess most of the people in DRUM will eventually go work for the Nation of Islam. One of the things I'd like to see is that black college students, the ones that find it necessary to go to school, should go to agricultural school.

And technology schools? [Another part of the Muslim program.]

AH. I think more agriculture than technology. If you put a big emphasis on technology, then you get into problems with where you're going to get the machinery from and all that. But when you're talking about developing for yourself—you know almost the same kind of thing that Cuba is talking about and that Nkrumah tried in his country when the man dropped the market on cocoa—that you can produce these things for ourselves.

HF. I think that one of the points that Arthur overlooked about DRUM and the Nation of Islam is that they are valuable in that they point out the contradictions that exist.

The Nation of Islam has shown that even if you buy land, you get legal title to it, that a foreign government that sells you the land can still step in and put the people who sell you the land in jail and charge them with having violated a law by dealing with a foreign corporation. They won't even call the Nation of Islam a foreign nation but they arrest and indict the two people who sold them the land on charges of selling, having business dealings, with a foreign corporation.

And with DRUM, I think the contradiction that will be shown there is that despite the fact that blacks organize themselves into separate unions that they will still be just a minority group among the major white labor groups and labor unions. And that their only hope is to come into a separate nation where a black union can function and where the ownership of land is not based on a few predatory men selling it to you, or renting it to you really because the fact that you have that deed to it doesn't mean that it's your land. It always belongs to whoever is in power because their power is based on land ownership and control.

I think we have to go back and look at the struggle and its implications in terms of black people moving realistically towards liberation and self-determination. As long as we are a colonized people the colonizer can do anything with us and to us that he wants. For instance, he can arrest anyone he wants. He can arrest Rob Williams tomorrow. Rap has been arrested several times. And he can charge you as a criminal and take you into court and prosecute you under the criminal code, when if we are waging a national liberation struggle we know that these brothers are political prisoners. And that therefore political prisoners, the kind of treatment that they get in court during the time of incarceration is different than the kind of treatment that is accorded to a criminal who has violated the criminal code. Because the political prisoner, whatever he does, it is an act done to change his conditions. He is attacking the system to change his conditions.

If he has to go out on the corner and put a gun in somebody's face or mug somebody he's still a political prisoner, because that system has put such an



economic squeeze on him that that's the only way he can survive in the system. If someone goes out to blow up the 155th street bridge here between Manhattan and the Bronx, that is a political act because the person is addressing himself to a political problem that confronts his people. So he is saying that this is the only way that my condition can be changed and this is the only way that I can get you to deal with the condition that I'm trying to get you to take a look at, trying to get you to address yourself to.

So if we look at our struggle from that light I think that in your publications you can deal with the fact that all black people, we consider any black person that is indicted by America to be a political prisoner, and that therefore the treatment that political prisoners are given is different. That certain times you give a political prisoner, you don't hold him under high ransom. He can walk the streets because you know he's going to show up for his trial. He committed whatever it was he did as a political act, and therefore, since he's seeking a platform from which to espouse his viewpoints, his convictions, his program, that he'll be in court, he'll be there because this is his forum, this is the platform from which he can present his case to the world if there's enough publicity around it. So it's not necessary to hold 21 Panthers under \$100,000 bail each. Because these are not criminals.

Willie Sutton is a criminal; he robs a bank in order to live like the capitalist pigs who run the system. If one of the brothers robs a bank it's not for that reason. It's to put money into the struggle.

AH. Anybody that's been active can expect the maximum from the courts. You know this has been the case; Rap was convicted, we were convicted, I think everybody that went to trial was convicted except for one or two cases where people tried to twist that—say here's some kind of chance and some kind of hope.

Well, what I'm saying is if you're going to have some kind of effective struggle, if you want people to engage in armed struggle, you're going to have to remove that thread of hope. Quite frankly, black people have been in armed struggle, and that's what I'm talking about when I say evaluate what has taken place in the Sixties.

You have to understand some of these things that have to be done, in order to create certain conditions that create the total armed struggle. Like in Vietnam for about two years the people in the south had no contact with the people in the north and they were just sort of at loose ends, but they kept on pushing and violent things got back together. And all kinds of crises, developments and what have you happened.

But I think it's important now to understand the things that the establishment has institutionalized to keep the struggle at a minimum level. It's important to understand these things, like civil rights, you know they've stopped talking about civil rights. Now I don't know what they're going to come out and call it.

It's important to have someone interpreting what you're doing for you clearly. I think that's one of the reasons we're here perhaps to help you take a serious look at the black movement and start interpreting things the way they are. Just like a lot of people misunderstand why Che Guevara brought Regis Debray into Bolivia. It's important to have people interpreting what's going on and getting the correct analysis out.

What I'm trying to say, I don't know if Herman might want to talk about the case, the whole thing around it, the details, but I think we're playing into the man's hands when we get involved in court cases because we give the whole thing some sort of legitimacy.

I'm not saying, like, that with the 21 Panthers (on trial in New York) people shouldn't go down to the court. But at some point, the brothers that are arrested, they obviously crossed that line—that's why the man arrested them. But the people in that courtroom, they have to make some decision to cross that line too. And until they cross that line totally, there's always going to be a few up there on exhibition, on display, sort of telling people that this is what you can get, this is what we can do to you.

What I'm saying is that we know what they can do to us, and it's just time to put an end to it. It's ridiculous for them to take any black person to court.

It seemed to me that what Bobby Seale did in court did a lot to destroy legitimacy.

AH. I guess it helped a great deal. But what I'm talking about is the system always presents a choice; it takes you into court and they say they'll reduce the charges if you will just plead, if you will just lie on yourself. What I'm talking about is no deals, you know, no courts. I'm just talking about the kind of situa-

tion like is in North Vietnam now. They have those prisoners and they got 'em. It's gotta be that kind of thing, if you're at war with somebody, if you're totally at war, otherwise it's a contradiction. What I'm trying to say is it's time to eliminate the contradictions so that we can deal with what we have to deal with. And the court is the biggest contradiction in our way at this point.

There are still some questions that I have in my mind about the concept of a white social revolution along with a black liberation struggle, and what that has to do with strategy. In other words, the thing that seems implied is that black people will try and stake out a certain territory.

HF: We've done that already.

They've already laid out the five States that they are demanding.

HF: We're demanding Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina and Georgia.

What does that mean specifically then? White people will totally move out?

HF: The way that the strategy was laid down originally is that anyone who wanted to stay there could. They would have to, however, understand that the Republic of New Africa was the government, that as long as they obeyed the laws and so on they could stay but that the United States government could no longer govern them. This applied to anyone who lived on the land.

Well then, as black people fight to take over and then defend that land, do you see white people fighting simultaneously in the rest of the country to overthrow the government that you fight as a foreign enemy?

HF: Your responsibility would be the internal conflict and our problems would be externally worked out. Since we consider ourselves a separate nation, then it's to a nation's advantage to have friends within the enemy nation that are working for you.

The main thing that occurs to me is that the black struggle is already far advanced and I don't know how soon you see the possibility of a white armed struggle developing.

HF: Well, let's look at Debray's *Revolution Within the Revolution*. Where he talks about moving from armed self defense to armed propaganda. Which in essence means that you go on the offensive. If you remain in that position of armed self defense, you can be done away with, because you only react to a certain kind of attack. If you just sit there and say, if you hit me first, I'm going to hit you back, there are so many ways that your strength can be taken away from you. And so you have to move to the next level, armed propaganda.

Now black people, for two reasons, are not ready yet for the armed struggle. Number one, we have not yet reached the point where we understand collectively that we have the right to armed self defense. Little pockets of black people understand this, some individuals understand, but in terms of a black nation of people coming together to defend itself, that concept has not been grasped by our people yet. And since our people have not even got to the point of understanding that within the system we have a right to defend ourselves, to call for armed struggle would be like howling in the wilderness, your voice would be lost.

But white people have always had the right to self defense. Your own official constitution gives you that right. And I don't think that the white left has utilized the constitutional guarantees that apply to you just as they apply to Wallace. You can use the courts in a way that we can't use them. And for you to call for armed struggle, you don't have to deal with that mental block that comes in there right away when the colonized people feel that, boy, if I get a gun even, if they even know I have a gun in my house, they might come in and shoot up the house and burn it down. Hundreds of cops. And you don't have that problem, you see. And if enough suppression is brought against you, if those had been white Panthers in Chicago, you could call on a large segment of the white left who would probably respond with their guns.

I don't know if the left has even given any serious consideration to or tried to infiltrate the right. They certainly have infiltrated the left. And I don't know why you couldn't have some of your boys cut their hair and put on a white shirt and a tie, and become Minutemen and Birchites quite easily. It wouldn't take very long to find these groups. They're all over. Just write to the National Rifle Association and say I want to form a rifle club and they will send you a list of all the rifle clubs in the metropolitan area. You just join one of them. Your contacts are right there. We can't do this kind of thing.

This is another reason why our struggle has to take on a different form. We have to face reality and recognize our situation here as a colonized, highly



identifiable people. When Fanon was describing this spontaneous combustion of national consciousness, he was talking about us. This is what we have to go through.

If your people aren't true revolutionaries in the mold of Che Guevara reforms could satisfy many of your people; just change this a little bit, or let some of us into positions of authority—or if the country would decide we could become a little more socialist, or a little more like Russia, or even like Russia, that brand of communism—it might be sufficient to satisfy a great many of your people. But it would never do, it would not change anything for us. It wouldn't change anything, because when you're dealing with a power, I don't care what position you hold in the ranks of the powerful, if they look like you, if their heritage is the same as yours, you are part of them.

So if you assume control of things, I don't see how you could really turn to me and say, O.K., everything you have always wanted is right here, you can have it. Because power is not handled that way, and you people are talking about power just like we're talking about power. And that is one thing we have to understand, that as revolutionary nationalists when we talk about power we know what we are talking about and we understand that power is never given, it's never shared. So you can't say to us, "Look, come in with us and we'll overthrow this whole bit here and then you guys can have whatever you want." We know that that ain't about to happen. The only way we would get anything out of you if you took over tomorrow would be if we were in a position of equal power. Then you'd have to respect our power. Or if we weren't equally powerful in terms of material power, if there were other power that we had, if we had the power to get in your way and to do things to you that you couldn't stop us from doing, then you'd want to talk about, "Let's see if we can't work this out." And there'd be no such thing as saying, "Well, we're going to let you have this, we're going to give you these five states, this is what you wanted, isn't it." You see that's not power. That's still that paternalistic system that we've been part of as colonized people. And so we're not talking about black capitalism where neo-colonialism becomes the game. And we're not talking about changing the great white father, changing his political direction—if the great white father comes from the left, as far as we're concerned, it's the same as the one that comes from the right.

Can we talk about the South for a minute. From everything you've said it seems obvious that those five States are going to have to be fought for and torn away from the Government that rules today.

HF. We hope not.

Well then, you think that there could be a peaceful transfer of power in those five States?

HF. No. They might give us the states but they wouldn't give us any power. It might become feasible for them to give us those states if we could mount enough pressure, get in the way enough. You see, there's a distinction between power and pressure. It's not inconceivable that if enough pressure, diplomatic pressure if we tried to get support from other governments, political pressure and so on, they just might...

AH. But then, that situation would set us back because just like, you look at Africa, all the countries that got their independence through negotiations have been toppled a couple of times. They would set it up the same way here, you know, Roy Innis would be the president of Alabama or the governor. I'm not trying to be funny but they would just run one of those neo-colonialist games on us. And it's important for people to go through a struggle to understand the relationship of power. One of the things you can look at is Stokes in Cleveland—all that funny business went down there and those white cops didn't take orders from him. He was the mayor and they were trying to kill him, as a matter of fact he was trying to save himself from them.

There's a point to the question I didn't get across. The activity you described about what's happening in high schools here in New York and what's happening in Detroit. I wondered if you can point to things happening in what will be the actual battleground. And another thing, do you foresee it as a logical step that the Government would try to give you some amount of land without that power?

HF. You see, the system has the awesome capacity to absorb anything that stays within it. As long as black people are talking about doing anything within the system it will be absorbed, the Garvey movement, all of these movements are contained and controlled. If the Panthers had been smart they would have concentrated on their point number 10, where they call for a plebiscite, instead of getting into other things. I think that's even more important than the breakfast program. It's when you stay in that system that they can deal with you.

They can deal with Russia, because Russia wants in. They can't deal with China quite yet, because China still doesn't want in. They want China in the United Nations so bad that they don't know what to do. They're trying to do everything that they can to bring China into some contact with them, because once they've got you dealing with them, and within the system, imperialism is so geared that it will absorb anything that gets into it.

It's like a billy goat—a billy goat can eat anything, eat cans, paper, and its system is so tough that it can absorb it, digest it, that it doesn't bother it. He might burp a couple of times but he can handle it. And this system is the same way. If black people remain in this system, there is absolutely nothing that is relevant to our needs or relieving our suffering that can be done.

There are piece-meal programs. You get windowdressing and you get a few people who are allowed to get a few of the crumbs, but the masses of our people will always be the ones who are down on the ground and kept down there.

I wondered if you could identify any kind of activity in the South that you see leading into a national liberation struggle of the kind that can't be coopted and that won't accept definitions within the system?

HF. The Republic [of New Africa] has citizens who are acquitting land quietly just as the Nation of Islam has done. The Nation of Islam has said that if they have to they will send a thousand of their brothers down there to defend that land. This is a step in the right direction. These are two of the things that I see. But what you're doing is projecting years ahead when you talk about the liberation struggle. We're talking about the steps that have to go before and getting things to the point where our people are prepared for that kind of struggle where they have the determination, the understanding even before determination . . .

AH. Like endurance. One of the things I thought he said was good was about the schools, the high schools where black young brothers and sisters go to high school. The whole thing I said before, when I talked about the courts, I'm talking about other institutions too. Just as the courts have to be closed down, the high schools have to be closed down too. Now someone will say now I'm an anarchist, but I'm not. I'm just being realistic because they're just promoting racism. I hope in the coming years the brothers and sisters just don't even go to school. It'll be much more to their advantage. Because when you go to school, you get used to this kind of technology that you were talking about before. You get the idea that you need a computer and you need carpets and you need a Mustang, you need to go to college, and you need, you need; but you really don't need all these things. I hope that the movement would define what it means by education, because that's a big trap of the system, you know, keep 'em all in school, get 'em in college, get 'em struggling around soul food in the cafeteria.

I think that you perpetuate these institutions by going through them—and anybody that goes to college is perpetuating racism, institutionalized racism, and then coming out and being a liberal teacher. They're just kidding themselves, and the faster we get our kids out of those schools the better off we'll be.

I think, maybe this has been answered lots of different places in the discussion but it seems that the assumption behind the black separatist movement is that white racism runs so deep in this society that it's just impossible to gain equality within it. What I'm saying is, the liberal argument says that if the government really . . .

AH. But every liberal . . . You didn't hear what I just now said about college and about going through school. Every liberal was educated in some kind of racist institution like Columbia that just by its very nature back in the reconstruction period institutionalized racism in its structure. It's no longer, like you don't have to beat me over the head or anything like that, if you don't want to. But the institutions do it for you. Institutions keep black people in line for you. Any white person in America—I mean Lindsay, racist as he is and reactionary as he is, he was on that panel [Kerner Commission] and he said that all white people are racist. And that is one of the things that if you're going to conduct a realistic social revolution in white America you're just going to have to face. This is something that is.

HF. Historically we can't afford at this late date, when imperialism is about to make the final decision on us, to make the same mistake we made before. The liberals, as personified now by the white left, have always in a crisis when they had a choice turned away from us.

The abolitionists after the Civil War, and really before the war, all they wanted was to have slavery ended. But they never followed up with any kind of support or real program to bring the slave into the system. They compromise; it was a



sell-out on the part of the abolitionist democrats. They said, this was good for business and we're for business. There again this was white nationalism that came to the fore, and my personal feeling is that is one of the very few things that you can depend on, in our struggle, that racism and white nationalism will always be there to keep you interfering when you try to do something for your own self. And it's so ingrained that I don't see how you can, given the present circumstances and historical relationships, do anything that's meaningful to us, unless it is something so drastic and so radical that we recognize it as a move to really show that you're really with us.

Often in the black liberation struggle we talk about the John Browns. Where are they? We don't see them. We see no evidence that John Browns are going to emerge. Not John Browns in the sense that this is an attack on Harper's Ferry and this is supposed to start the black revolution, but the kind of thing we're saying here is taking care of business on the part of white revolutionaries, so that you are taking hold of that situation where a guy like Abbie [Hoffman] stands up in court where the attention of the world has been focused on this trial and he says, the whole left movement has been a joke, it was a joke, we were just kidding around, we were just putting you all on.

They've been there how long now, three months of that trial? To culminate in his saying that? That's why they did all that? Bobby got four years and thirty days so this dude could stand there and say this all was a joke, we were kidding? All those busted heads in Chicago? We watched that on television, and this dude stands up and says this.

And that's why, we are committed completely, wholeheartedly and totally to self-determination on our own. We don't feel that we can afford to let anybody else ever again become even a partner until we have reached the point ourselves where we can form partnerships. Where we dictate certain projects, it's always been in the past that we've had the problems. . . . I think that if the white left is sincere, they can understand and appreciate this because once we get our thing together and once the white left becomes more real, we can do a lot of things to help each other, some very important things. Because if we don't, then the whole struggle is going to be one where there might be a race war. There doesn't have to be, but there might be.

#### BUSINESS WEEK CAUTIONS ITS EXECUTIVE READERSHIP NOT TO MEET CLINCHED FISTS WITH GUNS

NEW YORK (LNS).—Business Week, the weekly newsmagazine for American businessmen, suggests that its readers get to know the ins and outs of self-defense. In the section entitled "Personal Business" appears an article whose reasoning sounds remarkably like Lyndon B. Johnson's reflections on the Vietnam war:

"The basic rule is that if you, a family member, or a friend are attacked, you can use any reasonable force needed to repel the aggressor. You can use greater force than you face—if it appears 'reasonable' to you—and you aren't held to a fine line in deciding the difference."

Of course there is a difference from Vietnam, and to deter its businessmen readers from thinking strictly in terms of Vietnamese analogies which might wind them up in jail, Businessweek warns:

"You become the aggressor when you use defensive force that is clearly excessive. For example, you can't respond to the threat of a clenched fist with a gun and quick shooting." Not even if the clenched fist is chanting, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh! The NLF is gonna win."

#### EXHIBIT No. 68\*

[Inner-city Voice, Detroit, Mich.]

#### ATTENTION BLACK WORKERS!

In the past years black workers for the most part have been relatively silent about the numerous out right racist acts being perpetuated upon us by the white racist ruling-working classes!

\*See p. 90 for discussion of this document.

We have suffered abuse upon abuse, we have suffered untold atrocities, we have been subjugated to chain gangism in assembly plants—we have been forced into downtrodden positions and we have been literally crushed under foot. Even in certain periods through-out our history, flagrant and savage attacks have been administered upon us. Once in New York Irish workers, who thought that blacks were out to get their jobs, massacred, 2,000 and injured another 8,000 blacks. This is a clear example of so-called working class unity. From 1889 to 1918 some 50 years or so ago, 3,224 known lynchings occurred. In 1916, in Waco, Texas, 10,000 white working men and women and children cheered when Jesse Washington a 19 year old black mental defective, was burned alive in the public square. Youngsters were held high to watch his agony as the flames crackled. His teeth were sold at \$15 apiece and the chain that bound him for 25 cents a link.

In Tennessee a black farmer and his two daughters, taking a wagon full of cotton to a gin, were ambushed, all three were hanged from a tree and the load of cotton was burned under their dangling bodies. A mob in Valdosta, Georgia lynched 3 innocent Negroes, the pregnant wife of one of the three cried at her husband's death so loudly that the mob seized her and burned her alive too. As the flames enveloped Mary Turner's body, her unborn child fell to the ground and was trampled underfoot; white parents held their children to watch.

In East St. Louis Illinois in 1917, white workers went on a Negro hunt and massacred hundreds of innocent and submissive Negroes. In a single Parish in Louisiana after a Negro hunt in 1870's more than two thousand brown babies were gathered for burial. The Black man in America today is considered just so much excess dirt under the racist white savages foot.

And even today these same savages are slaughtering thousands of innocent women and children in Vietnam. Even to the point that the mutilated bodies are divided up and handed out as souvenirs of hell. But many in our ranks doubt that such acts can happen to us again. They are too naive to see that the slaughter has never stopped, it has merely changed arenas and our turn will be back up again shortly.

Why right this very day one of the Noblest of our sons—One of our fellow black workers a former employee at the Rolling Mill at Ford Motor Co. and a member of local 600 U.A.W., Brother Robert F. Williams is being hounded down by a notorious lynch mob in Monroe, North Carolina and their henchmen and stooges in Lansing and Detroit, Michigan.

We have suffered too long.—It is now time to throw off all oppressive yokes, no other people have suffered the cruelty of such injustices as those heaped upon black workers without responding in kind. The yoke of speed-ups drives us harder than any slave driver on the plantation. Safety hazards make even the concept of going to work a possible fatality. The yoke of check off allows thieves to steal money from us in our name.

We have suffered too long.—It is now time to throw off all oppressive yokes of such injustices as those heaped upon black workers without responding in kind. The yoke of speed-up drives us harder than any slave driver on the plantation. Safety hazards make even the concept of going to work a possible fatality.

The yoke of check off allows thieves to steal money from us in our name. And the yoke of complacent leadership discredits our outcry.

Even in our communities our babies have been leading the fight for freedom— young kids have been gallantly fighting for what we all know is right and young women and children have been forced to fill front line positions left vacant by cowardly so-called men.

Our human decency, manhood, and survival demand that we rise up now and fight these injustices and support Bro. Robert F. Williams.

For it was Bro. Rob. who fought the Ku Klux Klan "tit for tat" and "toe to toe".

It was Bro. Rob. who was hounded around the world by the savage running dogs of U.S. racism and branded a black racist.

It was Bro. Rob who in 1957 stood up in North Carolina and said we must meet violence with violence.

It was Bro. Rob who from 1957 to 1961 successfully fought off the Ku Klux Klan.

It was Bro. Rob who traveled around the world crusading for the black Americans.

It was Bro. Rob who forced the voice of America to go on overtime with its lies and slander trying to counteract the truth Rob spoke.



It was Bro. Rob who remained a consistent and powerful voice against Tyranny and racial oppression of black Americans.

And now its Bro. Rob who is calling upon every black worker everywhere to stand resolute like a wall of granite and to oppose the racist Kangaroo Mob in Monroe, North Carolina, Lansing or Detroit, Michigan and wherever it raises its head.

We black workers should all resolve that if Rob goes we all will go. Our mere self preservation demands that we now fight back.

#### EXHIBIT 66

[Detroit News, Sunday, Feb. 15, 1970]

#### WILLIAMS' 8-YEAR ODYSSEY

(By Robert F. Williams)

Eight years can be a long time. With modern technology what it is today, one naturally expects a shrunken world to be more susceptible to scientific, social and political change.

Despite the fact that society is in a perpetual and accelerated state of social transition and mutation, formidable pockets of sociopolitical reaction permeate the new scene. During my more than eight years of exile I have been near the center of the past decade's most astounding storms of social conflict and change. I was in Cuba when Fidel Castro established the first socialist country in the sphere of the Monroe Doctrine.

I was in Cuba during the tense hours of the great missile crisis and I witnessed the emergence of a new and different Cuba. In Cuba, I learned that it takes more than just a change of system or government to eradicate age-old social evils, and that all advocates of violent social change are not necessarily free of tendencies toward social injustice.

In 1966, after some differences with some members of the Cuban Communist Party relative to the racial situation in the United States, I found refuge in The People's Republic of China. Again, I found myself in the midst of great social change. It was such a different world from what I had known that sometimes I felt that it was more of a dream than reality.

Indeed, it was a strange twist of fate that had thrust me from the civil rights struggle of the little Southern town of Monroe, N.C., into the world arena of sociopolitical dislocation and revolutionary struggle. I arrived in Peking at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution and remained there through its many critical stages until Mao Tse-tung emerged clearly as the leading factor in China's great quest for control of its own destiny.

During my exile, I had the good fortune to meet and talk to revolutionary leaders such as Che Guevara, Castro, Ho Chi Minh, Pham Van Dong, Chou En-lai and Mao. The more I traveled and exchanged views with people from all parts of the world, the more difficult it became for me to reconcile myself to the fact that I was unjustly accused as a kidnaper in my native land.

To be held in such high esteem by honorable people from all parts of the world and to know that all who met and conversed with me were convinced that I was anything but a criminal, while the power structure in America preferred to condemn me rather than to evaluate my case on the basis of fact and impartiality, as a constant source of irritation and frustration.

It was a source of continual anger to know that my only crime consisted of the fact that as a black man functioning as chairman of the local branch of the NAACP I had incurred the wrath of the Ku Klux Klan and its racist contemporaries. Every minute of my exile, I resented having been forced from my native land by bigots who moved might and main to destroy me because of my insistence that black Americans, too, were entitled to constitutional and human rights.

Despite the fact that as a black refugee from America I was accorded all the courtesies reserved for friendly foreign dignitaries and honored guests, I was never really able to throw off my American conditioning. No matter where I went and how favorable I found the situation I could never forget that I was an "American Negro" and that eventually I would either have to sever my close spiritual ties with my oppressed people or return to their fold.

Exile can be dramatic, but there is really nothing glamorous about it, especially when one faces the prospect of being continuously banned from his homeland. Psychologically, my greatest stress came from the fact that I could never forget that I was unjustly forced out of America. If I had left America other than as a

fugitive from white supremacy repression, I could easily have resigned myself to a contented life in China.

In addition to my exile, my wife and two young sons were forced to bear the same isolation from relatives, friends and the black psyche that is found only in America. I saw my children grow up more proficient in other languages than in their own native tongue. Environments free of juvenile delinquency, crime and pot were healthy for them, but as far as total identity they were becoming foreigners to the entire world.

I came back to America because I wanted to work for constructive change. I came back because I wanted to work for peaceful relations between the Chinese and American peoples. I came back because I wanted to contribute my rare experience to the cause of liberation of my people.

I came back because I am not a criminal and am not guilty of having committed any crime. I resent the law being used to deprive me of the right to live at home simply because I am considered a black problem child.

More than eight years ago, I left America to elude a vicious and howling lynch mob that carried the weight of tyrannical Southern law on its side. I have returned in hope of finding a new tendency wherein I would be judged more on the basis of impartial fact than on bigoted emotion.

I returned hoping to see a new sense of human decency and justice override sinister tyranny, but it remains to be seen whether or not my expectations are out of proportion to the American capacity to abide by its own Constitution.

That nation which is insensate to the cry for social change and justice and insists on maintaining an outmoded order of oppression forfeits its right to exist—America is no exception. Yes, I have been an exile abroad—but worst of all, I remain an exile today in my own native land, for the black man is an internal exile in America. He is excluded from the inner circles of the "American way of life."

The time has come for America to change. If she is to survive, America must change!

Is it too much for black people to ask constitutional and human rights from America? Is it too much for a white American to be expected to respect his own Constitution and the Christian injunction to "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you"?

There is an awful storm building up against America in the world. I have seen it. Only through righteousness can America avoid disaster.

I have returned to witness the approaching good or bad, and I have come with the satisfaction of knowing that as I have emerged from exile abroad, so shall my people soon emerge from the internal exile at home, either in a greater, more humane America or in the smoke that once was America.

#### HIS BACKGROUND

Robert F. Williams, one of America's most controversial black leaders, is in Detroit fighting extradition to North Carolina on charges of kidnapping. Williams fled the United States in 1961 after the charges were made, and lived in Cuba and Red China. He has written his story of those eight years for *The News*.

Williams was born in Monroe, N.C. He worked in Detroit as a machinist after having served as a marine sergeant during the Korean war. In 1955 he returned to the South, drawn by the civil rights movement.

What caused the kidnapping charges against him? On Aug. 27, 1961, a group of blacks marched around the Monroe courthouse to protest segregation. Whites attacked them and rioting occurred. Later a white couple driving through the town's black neighborhood was surrounded by about 200 armed blacks. Williams contends he took the couple into his home to protect them. Police later charged him with kidnapping the couple, claiming they held them hostage to gain the release of demonstrators.

Williams asked for political asylum in Cuba, arriving there via New York and Canada. His wife and two sons joined him. In 1963 he and his family went to Red China.

In 1967, a year of devastating racial upheaval in the United States, Pontiac attorney Milton R. Henry formed the separatist Republic of New Africa (RNA), with one of its goals acquisition of the states of Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina and Louisiana for blacks. The RNA in Detroit in 1968 elected Williams president in absentia.









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